

THE SWEDISH INTELLIGENCER.

The Third Part.

VVHEREIN,

OUT OF THE TRVEST

and choysest Informations, are the famous

Actions of that Warlike Prince Histo-

rically led along; from the Norimberg Leaguer,

unto the day of his death, at the Victory of

Lutzen. With the Election of the young

Queene of Sweden: and the Diet of Heilbrun.

The times and places of every Action,

being so sufficiently observed and described;

that the Reader may finde both *Truth*

and *Reason* in it.

Vnto which is added

The Fourth Part.

VVHEREIN,

The chiefeft of those Military Actions of other *Swedish*

Generalls, be related: wherein the King himselfe, was

not personally with the Army.

L O N D O N,

Printed by I. L. for Nath: Butter and Nicholas Bourne.

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THE SWEDESH INTELLIGENCER.

Published for

THE EDITOR.

NO. 1. FOR THE YEAR 1841.

and choicest Informations and the famous

Address of the late Prince Hildes-

burgh, delivered at the late Anniversary

being the day of his death, at the Theatre of

London. With the Election of the young

Prince of Wales, and the late Prince

the names and places of every Address.

being to facilitate of observing and detecting

that the Reader may find both young

and old.

Volume which is added.

Vol. 1. No. 1.

THE EDITOR.

These books of the History Address of other years.

Ordered, by the King's Command, to be printed.

and printed by the King's Command.

AD 1841.

Printed by A. A. for the Author and Publisher.

1841.



To the favourable and Iudicious Readers.

THat my *Dedication* inscribes it selfe to the *Favourable Readers*, before to the *Iudicious*; is not so much out of *Complement*, as *Conscience*: he that is guilty to himselfe of being lesse *Iudicious*, hath the more need his *Readers* should be *Favourable*. And yet (thanks to your faire acceptance for it) I have hitherto received no such discouragement from the *most Iudicious*, that I need complaine they were lesse *Favourable*. For your honest pleasures (*Gentlemen*) and in thankfulness to your courtesies; have I vndertaken this my last labour.

I have done all, with as much diligence, as a Scholler (*morally*) might doe: yea with importunity of diligence, have I solicited such *Gentlemen*, as I knew to have beene in action, and that could teach me any thing. And something more than a com-
mon

To the Reader.

most diligence, haue I vsed in it. The *Italian Painter* hath 3. degrees of *Comparison*, in the praising of his *Pieces*. If he saies tis but done *con diligence*, with diligence, tis no great commendation of his paines, for he meanes no more than an ordinary diligence. His second degree of praising it, is *con studio*, with study: and by that would he tell you, that his braine and hand, haue a little more laboured, both vpon the designing and the colouring. But if he addes *con amore*, that hee did it with a loue and an affection, to the *Piece* or *Party*: oh *Lais*, *oh Madonna*, then: and the *Italian* himselfe is at the highest of his expression.

Izhaine (as little as might be, and especially in the *Kings Story*) trusted to no written *Relations*, unless received from a *knowne hand*, or confirmed by personall eye, or *care-witnesse*. No, I haue not singly relyed, so much as vpon that diligent amasser of the *Dutch Countries*, the *Gallobelgicus*, and the *Armenian*, *le Soldat Suedois*. I meane by it: vpon whose single credit, I haue no where written any thing, excepting in those slighter encounters about *Norimberg*. And yet, even there, had I beene in the same boxe, with him, and before him: the *High Dutch Relations*. I commend, (as much as any man) the queyntnesse of his language, and the neatnesse of his conceits, many times: which are the relishes of a *French* wittinesse in him. His best pieces, are the *Abridgements of the liues of the two Kings*. Divers of the conceits, therefore, of the first of these, haue I made some use of, in my *Character of the King of Sweden*. The *Second*, haue I wholly taken into my

nom
Character

Character of the King of Bohemia: and I had divers reasons for it. 'Tis finely done; I was glad to see a *Frenchman* give that good King his due: and 'twas safer for mee to *Translate* that, than to *invent* a new one. Beyond this, would I by this *Essay of Translating*, try Masteries with the *French Language*: I confesse my selfe to be but a bungling snatterer at it; and yet thus farre dare I be depose'd, That had a queynt penne the doing of it, the *French* it selfe should not be able to transcend our *English*, in the happinesse of expressions.

For the truth of those *Relations*, wherein I differ from that *French Author*, I report mee to those that have read both, and have beene personally present in the *Actions*. And thus much (because we differ) had I reason to say in mine owne defence, and to prevent, withall, the abusing of my Countymen, should He happen to be translated into *English*. Mine owne ambition is not, that this Piecte of mine should be exempt from censuring, or to be taken for above the true value of it: nor do I professe my selfe to be other than (like an *Architect*) the *Disposer of other mens Materialls*, at my best value. I am *Author* of nothing here, but of the mistakings: & even of those, though I strongly be *suspicious*: yet am I, (no way) *conscious*. Knowingly, I have committed nothing against *Truth*, nor traduced pecvishly, the honor of any person. I could tell no more than I knew, nor would not: sure, I cannot have written all, but what I have is neer about the matter.

In writing of this *Story*, those two objections of the *Turkes*, against the likelyhood of all
 vito 3 *Histories*,

To the Reader.

Histories, may appear to be well satisfied. A *Story-Writer* (say those *Barbarians*) *In the time, dares not; and After the time, cannot, write truly.* For the first of these: the *distance of the place* secures me, against the feare of writing *too truly* of the *present*. My selfe, (not since these warres) was never neere enough to the *persons or places of action*; to be either *bribed or skared* by them. And as for the Authors, whom chiefly I have consulted; though they were sometimes Gentlemen of the Army; yet have they now put themselves beyond the *feare or hope, of pleasing or displeasing*: because out of the service and dependancy. The *second objection* is by this well taken away, too; for though my *Story* be written *after the time* of doing, yet not *beyond the memory* of it.

And thus, in this Iland, have I done with this *forraine Story*; as in some *Houses of pleasure*, I have scene done with the *Landskip* of a Countrey: where the *Hills and Woodes, and Houses*, have by *Perspective* and *Art Optick*, beene so brought thorow a small hole; that they have *in little* beene reflected upon a *Paper, or polisht Stone, in a Study or a Dying-roome*. And I have used the same *Art Perspective*: the *Landskip* of these *Swedish Warres*, have beene out of *Germany* brought home into my *Study*, which my *Paper* here reflects off againe. *In little*, I meane, and as I could; and though not in their iust *magnitude*; yet in lines something towards their proportions.

If I have made my *Readers* waite, a while, in expectancy of my *Relations*: I hope they will please to allow of this answer, for a satisfaction. That I
onely

To the Reader.

onely staid, till false rumours might be contradicted;
true reports, brought home to me, by men present;
and the passions of people a little over, which might
either make them harder of beleefe, or over-credu-
lous. My office (so hath God disposed of it) hath
beene, not that of an *Historiographer* alone, but of a
Herald also: one, that having served a Prince, first in
denouncing of his *Warres*, and then in celebrating of
his *Triumphs*; performes his last duties to him, at his
Funeralls. So have my *Three Bookes* beene. My *First*
Part proclaimed, the King of *Swedens* comming into
the Field, and the *Causes* for it. My *Second Part*
marshalled him along, all in *Victories* and in *Glories*:
and my unlucky *Third*, here waites upon him, in his
Obsequies. The death of the King of *Sweden*, hath
made his *Intelligencer* speechlesse: it cannot be expe-
cted, that a *Logician* should proceed in his *Argument*;
after that the *Adversary* hath taken away the *Subiect*
of his *Question*. I have done with *Novelties*, now; and I
henceforth desire my *Readers* to discharge me.

[illegible]



THE SWEDISH

Intelligencer.

The Third Part.

From the time of the KINGS

encamping before NORIMBERG,

untill the day of his death at the

Battell of LVTZEN.



Ow noble a Master of his word (even to the uttermost possibilitie of performance) the King of *Sweden* still was; may (if we wanted the assurance of other examples) abundantly enough appeare by his present carriage, alone, towards the faire Citie of *Norimberg*.

The Story
fetcht a little
higher, then
the end of the
last Part.

His Highnesse the Duke of *Bavaria* having beene shouldred out of his owne Countrey, and taken his retreat into the *Upper Palatinate*; (as in the latter

A

end

* Namely that
Swabach, which
is North-East
of Norimberg,
20 English
miles: neere the
head of the ri-
ver Swabach.

The King mis-
sing but little
of surprizing
the Duke of
Bavaria,
retires backe
againe,

and encampes
about Norim-
berg.

end of our *Second Part* we have told you) the King, out of a desire to fight with him, before he should be joyned with *Walenstein*; had even thither also pursued him. And but little missed he, of lighting on him. For having advanced by *Norimberg* unto * *Swabach*: hee left the Army 3 leagues further, and above *Sulzbach*; going himsele with his whole Horse, 4 peeces of Cannon; and Sir *Iohn Hepburn*, (as himsele pleased to tell me) with 2000 Muskietiers, to seeke out and to surprize *Bavaria*. A generall guesse hee now had, whereabouts the Duke should bee enquartered; though by reason of his being still in motion, he could have no exact certaintie. Going, therefore, on the left hand of *Amberg*; he comes to a little towne thereby, lately forsaken by the Duke. That night, lay He within 4 English miles of the *Bavarian*: which had he surely knowne, he had without doubt, cut him all in pieces. But the Duke, that evening, having better intelligence where the King was; then the King had, where the Duke was: rose with all speed and hastned towards *Egra*, to conjoyne with *Walenstein*: both of them presently returning againe upon the King. This caused His Majesty, to turne backe from them: he being too weake, at that time, (by three parts) to meete them in *Campagna*.

And now remembers he his Royall word, passed heretofore unto the *Norimbergers*. Their towne, being mighty in power and example; had, at first, committed it selfe vnto his devotion: and hee, againe, in the word of a King, had assured it of the uttermost of his protection. To disengage himsele, of this promise: he in *November* before, was once advancing from about *Franchford*, with his whole Army, to have leaved *Tillyes* siege from before it: and now againe engages he himsele, to be by *Walenstein* besieged with it. Thus is he become, a full capitall pledge for it; whilst he adventures to stand bound, body and goods with it. Round about this Towne, we in our *Second Part* left him encamped; and there, he for 16 weekes after stayed: for that Towne sake alone, submitting himsele unto such multitudes of inconveniences.

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conveniences, and so many varieties of great dangers; as his victorious proceedings had not hitherto beene confronted withall: all which, a farre meaner experience then a King of *Swedens* could not but foresee, now ready like a tempest to come flowing in upon him.

His Highnesse the Duke of *Bavaria*, had taken fore-regett at this *Norimberg*; and, for its entertaining the King of *Sweden*, had his Generall *Tilly* offered to beleaguer it. And had this Duke beene strong enough, he would, perchance, have beene content, with an indifferent occasion to have quarrel'd it: for besides the addition of so strong a *Passé*, and able Jurisdiction, unto his already devoured *Upper Palatinate*: it had been an Inlett, withall, to his progresse into the Marquifates of * *Onspach* and *Payreis*, belonging unto 2. Princes of the House of *Brandenburg*; and by *Onspach*, into *Franconia*. The Imperiall *Generallissimo*, besides, had now threatned to write it vp in red letters in his Almanack; to make a *Martyr* of it, and to change *Norimberg*, into *Magdenburg*: hee had vow'd the City to the flames, and the riches of it, for a prey unto his souldiers. This danger was the Towne now in: the more need, therefore, for the King to keepe his word with it.

His reasons
for it.

* They write
themselves
Burgraves of
Norimberg.

And yet was it a *mixt action*, too: there were other concurring causes, for the Kings sitting downe about *Norimberg*, besides the bare keeping of his promise with it. These were some of the preuailing reasons, that drew the King thither.

First, should he have left it unto the fury of the enemy, the whole world might iustly have condemn'd him, as a man more regardfull of his safety, then of his honour. Then, the Imperiall Cities (whose Champion he had heretofore professed himselfe) perceiuing him so carefull to make his owne game, would also have plaid the best of theirs: and *Norimberg*, among the rest, would quickly have falne off from him, and saved its owne stake with the Emperour.

I.

Secondly, This Towne of *Norimberg*, was a *Passé* of mighty importance: not onely, by the advantage of its situation, which was its neighbourhood vnto many smaller Principa-

2.

The Swedish Intelligencer.

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lities (all in League with it) but a very considerable State likewise of its selfe it is, for the largenes of its owne Iurisdiction. The soile, indeed, is but woody and sandy: but the Lordship of it, is (much what) sixteen English miles square, with about 20. good Townes and Flecks, and fixe or seven skore villages in it. *Norimberg*, therefore, was worth the looking after.

3.
Thirdly, the City it selfe had now given him an assurance, how excellent well it was provided, for the sustaining of his Army: which, notwithstanding that it maintained 30000 or 40000 people, for sixteene weekes together, yet at the Kings rising, was not bread much dearer, then ordinarily tis in *London*.

And these three, together with the honour of keeping his word, were the chiefe of the reasons for the Kings encamping about *Norimberg*. Had he more intended the advancement of his other victories, then the safety of this Towne; he might then have marched up into the Bishop of *Bamberg*s Countrey, and have expected *Walenstein* in these quarters: and so by laying the seate of the warres, in that Bishopricke, have abundantly beene revenged of that Prince, for the breach of his former promises. Again, the Kings Army was now but small: for though it had the reputation of 20000 men, by the Ensigne; yet surely (so weake were the Companies, that the forces of the Towne excepted) they could not muster above 15500 reall marching men, to be reckoned, by the Poll. Had, therefore, the chiefe of his care beene, to have first re-enforced his Legions; and then to have returned upon the enemy: he should (in all probability) have retired beyond *Norimberg*, towards the banks of the river *Maine* in *Franconia*. Thereabouts, was the whole Countrey at his devotion: and hither, might the severall Armies which he had now sent for, with lesse danger, and more speed, have marche up to him. But either of these, had he now done; then, doubtlesse, would *Walenstein* so strongly have entrencht himselfe before *Norimberg* in the meane time, that there would have beene no remooving of him.

Severall

The Swedish Intelligencer.

5

Severall Chieftaines with their Armies, had the King now abroad, vpon other employments. Duke *William* of *Saxon-Weymar*, was beyond the river *Wefer* about *Brunswickland*. The Landgrave of *Hessen*, about *Paderborn*, and the Duke-dome of *Westphalia*. The *Rex-Chancellor Oxenstern*, about *Mentz*; and Duke *Bernard* with the Generall *Banier*, in *Bavaria*. All these Armies, he had at his first encamping, commanded with all speed to come and ioyn with him: which whilest they are about to do; we shall entertaine our Readers with the chieftest of those military discourses, descriptions, and rencounters: which passed betwixt the two Armies about *Norimberg*.

The King sends for his severall Armies to come to him.

Begin we with the Kings Leaguer, and the description of it, as also of the strength he had to lay in it. He had, at his first sitting downe, sixe *Brigades* of foote forces: three whereof were commanded by *Grave Neeles*; and the other three, by Sir *Iohn Hepburn*, which came to betwixt seven and 8000 and no more. About that strength, were his Horse: not full 8000 compleat, and yet fast upon it. The Right wing of these horse, was commanded by Lieftenant Generall *Strieff*, and the Left wing, by Lieftenant Generall *Goldstein*. His Artillery, consisted of 20. Peeces of battery, and 30. Fielding Peeces, of 3. and 6. pound ball. The King, so soone as ever he had taken the resolution of retyring to *Norimberg*: had sent before hand to the Towne, to have his Leaguer provided for him about the City. Himselfe with his Army, staid two dayes in the Mountaines, whilest his Quarters might be something towards a readinesse: so that at his first coming, he found the Trenches halfe wrought by the Burgers. They were found too little, when the King came to lodge his Army in them: for which cause, his Maiesty in person rode round about the Towne to lay out the ground for enlarging of the Quarters: which contained 35000 Rods of ground, within the vttermost line of *Circumvallation*. And for my understanding of this strength and Leaguer; are the thanks due unto the Noble and valiant Sir *Iohn Hepburn*.

The Kings strength,

with the description of his Leaguer.

The fashion of the City of *Norimberg*, enclines, mostly, to a circle, and yet something to an oval figure. The small river *Pegnitz*, runnes in at the East, and out at the West of it. It hath many faire Suburbs; and in them, was the Kings Leaguer: it embracing both Towne and Suburbs, roundabout, within the compasse of its protection. I begin to describe the Fortifications upon the East side, by the river, and the Suburbe of *Weert*. Hence, all about the hill of the *Jewes*, unto *St. Johns*, was it taken vp with divers *Bastions*, and *Retrenchments*: all these, being guarded by their *Flanckers*, and other ordinary *Defences*. On the other side of the water, was the *Pent* encompassed about with another *Fort* or *Bastion*: which being well Flanckered with a *Curtaine*: was also joyned unto a Fort new builded in the Suburbe called *Gastenhoff*: and that well defended likewise with divers *Halfe-Moones* and *Horn-works*. The Suburbe called *Steinbuhel* towards *Scheinau*, was strongly entrenched likewise: guarded besides with two other *Fortes*, joyning one upon another. Towards the wood of *Rotenbach*, was there a *Fort-royall* erected: and another towards *Gleishammer*, upon the way that leadeth towards *Altorf*. Divers *Batteries* were erected here and there, betweene which were plentifully furnished with the Kings owne Ordnance, and others out of the Towne *Magazine*. The *Works* were strongest, upon the South side, for that the King suspected the enemy likeliest to encampe there: and upon the East side, towards the Vpper *Palatinate*, for feare the Imperialists should have had the courage to have salne on upon the neereft side to them, at their first comming. The *Moate* or *Graff* round about all, was, generally twelue foot wide, and eight deepe: and about the *Head-works*, eightene foot wide, and twelue deepe. The King of *Bohemia's* Quarter in the Leaguer, was at *Weiershaus*, (a house of one *Weier*, a Burger) on the South side of the City, and in the way towards *Newmarcke*. Eight thousand souldiers, laboured daily upon the Fortifications; nor yet were the *Works* fully perfected, at *Walensheims* first comming:

comming: so that the King looked presently to have beene assaulted. But our *Generalissimo*, in the point of fighting, deceived the expectations both of his friends, and of his enemies.

And this is something towards the description of the Kings Leaguer. And here was his Maiesty now resolved to abide that shooke and tempest of warre, which from the whole power of the *League* and *house of Austria*, he had last Spring expected should at *Mentz* have falne upon him. At *Mentz*, therefore, did he last yeere make those so large Fortifications and Bridges, which Page 51 of our *Second Part* you shall finde described. There had hee taken in the hills about the Towne; not so much to make the City stronger (which plainely, he did not) but to have a Camping-place for the lodging of such an Army, as might beare the brunt of the whole power of the Empire.

Doe we now as much for their Highnesses the Dukes of *Fridland* and *Bavaria*. The Army was much about the same number that we have before set you downe, Page 233. of our *Second Part*. For in the end of this *July*, that they encamp't in; *Walenstein* himselfe sent a *List* of his whole Forces, unto his Imperiall Majesty at *Vienna*. In it, were 191. Cornets of Horse besides *Crabats* and *Dragooners*: with 149. Foot Companies. The Horse, at 125. to a Cornet (which is the usual proportion) amount to about 20000: And so many *Dutch* Horse he had indeed. His Foot, at 300. compleat, to a company for halfe of them (for so *Walsteins List*, was) and the rest, as strong as the Captaines could make them, amount to 40000: and so many marching men they had *effectiv*: (tis the word of the forenamed Gentleman) who accounted themselves 80000. The *Crabats* were full 5000. men, who gave out themselves to be 8000. And this was their whole strength (and with the least too) 40000. Foot, and 25000. Horse: in all 65000. fighting men: who either for their owne credits, were apt to beleeve it, or for policy and terror helpt to give it out, That they were 128000.

These

The Forces of
Walenstein and
Bavaria.

And their
great Officers.

These were *Walensteins* great Officers. In his Campe was *Gallas*, (an *Italian* of *Friuli*, and a brave Gentleman) Lieutenant-Generall, and he gave out the orders. In the Duke of *Bavariaes* Campe, had *Altringer* the same office: who yet was to be directed and controlled by *Walenstein*; the Duke of *Bavaria* himselfe (many times) knowing nothing, till the command was to be executed. Major-Generall of the Horse unto *Walenstein*, was Colonell *Holsk*, a Subject to the King of *Denmarck*. His Generall-Major of the Foot, was the Colonell *Spørre*, a little blacke Gentleman, and a *Pomerlander*. The valiant Baron of *Cronenberg* (as I take it) was Generall-Major of the Horse unto *Bavaria*, but who was of his Foote, I know not: *Cratz* was not now in the Leaguer; for he was yet busie against *Banier*, in *Bavaria*: and hee afterwards offered to hinder him, when hee came towards *Norimberg*. But this I have but by heare-say. Other great Commanders, which at the first coming, had severall Quarters, in the Leaguer; were Count *Maximilian Walstein*, and Count *Bernard Walenstein*, Kinsmen, I suppose, unto the *Generalissimo*. The Baron of *Schomberg*, and Colonell *Piccolomini*, an *Italian* Gentleman: with *Isolani*, *Mittscha* and *Gratzij*, Colonells Generall of the *Crabats* and *Hungarians*, in their Quarter. *Walenstein* at his first coming, fate downe a night or two about *Schwabach*, untill his Quarters could be made ready for him: which done, then went he and fate downe in his Leaguer.

The whole Imperiall Leaguer, was at first divided into eight severall Quarters: if the *Figure* cut in Copper be true, which I have seene printed, with a *High Dutch* description, to it. But these 7. lesser Quarters were rather scored out, then really fortified: for that they served but till the great Quarter could be finished. The distance of his Quarters from the Kings, was about 4. miles *English*. Their first and Head-Quarter, (which was farre the largest) was by *Metzendorff*, upon the North-West of the river *Pegnitz*, betwixt the High-ways unto *Wurtsburg* and *Bamberg*. This was almost like an *Ovall*: and the river *Rednitz*

The Imperiall
Leaguer, and
the 8. severall
Quarters of
it described.

nitz, ranne close by it upon the Northerne border. The second Quarter, was by *Scheurgbung*, betweene the way to *Wurtsburg* (which parted it from *Walensteins*) and the river *Pegnitz*: close upon the Westerne banke of it. Here *Piccolomini* commanded. The third Quarter, was by *Mueggenhoff*; at a good distance from the Southerne banke of the river, and from *Piccolominies* Quarter: with 2. Royall Forts betweene, and their Batteries. Here was Count *Maximilian Walenstein* lodged. The fourth was on the South side of the Kings Leaguer, by *Haffen*: and therelay Baron *Cronenberg*. The fifth was on the same side towards the right hand, by *Saint Leonards*: which was called Baron *Altringers*. Betwixt these two went the High-way to *Reichelsdorff*. The sixth, was by *Pultmull*, on the East side of *Norimberg* and beyond the river, on the Northerne banke, a great distance from *Altringers*, with a very great Fort, betweene the way to *Schwabach* and the *Pegnitz*. And here, Count *Bernard Walenstein* commanded. The seventh, was by *Prentzenburg*; betwixt the high-ways that leade to *Amberg*, and to *Culmbach*: on the North-East of *Norimberg*: This was the *Hungarian* and the *Crabats* Quarter: whose chieftes were *Isolani*, *Mittscha* and *Gratzij*. The 8. and last Quarter, was by *Rehenberg*; betweene the wayes to *Culmbach* and *Bamberg*, upon the North of the City; and neere unto the Head-Quarter. This was the Count of *Schomburgs*. Betwixt each of these, were there Workes and Forts, one or two; according to the distance.

This mighty Leaguer, was vaste, rather than accurate; *Walenstein*, surely, was defective in this point of military excellency: he is none of the best *Spademan*; nor had he any good Enginiers about him. Seven of these 8. Quarters, were but slight ones; a little earth cast vp, and barricadoed with Wagons, trees and other encumberments. Nor were they close behind: as if out of a military bravery, they would have the King know, they trusted more to their strengths, than to their trenches. Nor did these 7. Quarters last long: but onely till the Head-Quarter could be enlarged and fortified: and that

B

after

after the sending out of *Halik* and other forces to take vp the chiefe Posts of the Country: all the rest were drawne out into the great Leaguer that we now describe. The *Avenues* or *Passages* of this great Leaguer, in and out, thorow the Retrenchments, had *Barricadoes* right before them, made with Trunks and mighty boughes of Trees, among: with broken Wagons, Turne-pikes, Gabions, or Cannon-baskets, pieces of old Caske fill'd up with earth and stones, and many such other rude devices, to blocke up the way withall: especially against Horse, and sudden *Camisadoes*. The place for some of his Quarters, was a naturall Fortification, hilly, wooddy, and bushie: and especially by the hill and old Castle of *Altendorp*; made famous on Saint *Bartholmewes* day following, by a most notable conflict for it. And this hindred, among the rest, that the *Visermest line of Circumvallation*, or the true Compasse of the Campe, could not exactly be laid out: or at least, I know it not. All the bridges over the 2. little rivers, had hee caused to be broken downe: at *Katzwang*, namely, *Reychelsdorff*, *Stain*, *Weyerhoff*, and *Furs*, that so, no body might, on the sudden come at him. Divers villages were within these Quarters, the Duke of *Bavaria* being lodg'd in one of them: yea and *Walenstein* himselfe, though he had his day Pavilion in the open field, for the most part, and when it was faire weather; yet was his lodging (whē he pleased) within a house. And this was fittest both for his diseases and humours: he is shrewdly troubled with the Goute, so that hee goes softly, and is led sometimes. Some other crazyneses, is he likewise troubled with, for which the cold earth is not so kindly. He loues to keepe a State, fit for the dignity of his place: and that affects privacy and retyrednesse.

Walensteins
diseases.

The Sovereignty (I must not expresse it in a lower stile) over the *Mishin*, was absolutely, at the Duke of *Fridlands* dispose: for so much he tooke upon him, as *Imperiall Generallissimo*. He was *Fellow in Armes*, and no *Generall*, over the Duke of *Bavaria*: for that his Army, was independant; and he, as a Prince of the Empire by himselfe, had levied it at his

Walensteins
Authority,

his owne charges. Yet did *Walenstein* command all; and that with a *Switch* (as it were:) his *Orders* being given out with an *Imperious Eloquence*, which is *Braefnesse*. His pleasure (so much is due to a *Generall*) must not onely be uncontrollable, but undisputable; and he is a most sudden and seuerer *Iusticier*, (when he pleases) for his *military discipline*. *Hang the beast*, (thats his word) that obeyes not with a seruile celerity. Hee is a bountifull-handed man, where he finds deseruing: and these two things, *Rewards* and *Punishments* (and enough of both) are the *Secrets* of his *Discipline*; these are the chiefe lawes that kept his *Campe* in exceeding good order, all the time of this *Leaguer*; and himselfe well beloued of his souldiers. There was no great good heartinesse of affection (some will say) betwixt the 2. *Dukes*: and if *Bavaria*, at any time, interposed his counsell; *Walenstein* would take no more of it, then should serue his turne: good aduice, perchance, being now and than discountenanced, for the Giver.

The *Campe* being fortified, the *Generalissime* gave this generall order unto his souldiers, that they should make more use of their trenches, than of their weapons: That they should not, but with speciall leaue, goe out upon commanded *Partees*, and that very strongly: That they should not, but upon command, straggle abroad after forage or adventures: but continue to make good the *Posts*, they were commanded to, till they were relieved. That they should, for the most part, containe themselves upon the defensue within their *Quarters*: and when they were in commanded *Partees* sent abroad, they should then hinder the *Swedes* from getting forrage. He had taken a very excellent order, for the victualling of his Army; for sure, the Duke of *Fridlands* Master piece, is to be a good *Provisioner*: and he hath a singular good *Catering wit* of his owne. Above all, had he taken good care for his *Proviand-bread*, which is halfe the standing diet of a souldier: and they will doe well enough, where bread is good, and plentifull. That which most incommodated him, was, That navigable river, he had none, for the ser-

whence,
and
how, fetched.

nice of his Leaguer. The river *Rednitz* though it ranne from his Campe, into the Bishopricke of *Bamberg* (a friends countrey) yet it being both narrow, and shallow, and against the streame too; it was no way capable of any great carriages. His trust for the bringing of his victualls, therefore, must bee by Convoyes over land: which were farre more casuall, and more chargeable. He had laid all the country for provisions. Divers troopes of his Cavallery, were sent unto all the next greater townes and Passages, then at his devotion: which were there to hold their Quarters. As to *Cronach*, namely, and *Forcheim*, in the Bishopricke of *Bamberg*; *Willsburg* Castle, and *Weissenburg*, an Imperiall towne by it, in the Bishopricke of *Aichstet*. Some of his Forces had bene left beyond *Norimberg* in the *Upper Palatinate*, to secure that, and *Bohemia*: and others were already advanced beyond it, to the townes upon the river *Aisch*, in *Franconia*. The *Crabats* roaved up and downe, from *Forcheim*, almost, unto *Wurtsburg*: yea he had made sure worke of it, even as farre as the towne of *Regenspurg* in *Bavaria*: and had blockt up all the chiefe Posts and Passes, betwixt these townes and *Norimberg*. From all these (and from *Regenspurg* especially, whether it was sent him along the *Danuby*, from *Vienna*) was his Campe served with provisions; and the Kings Leaguer thereby cut off, from all necessaries: Every day were strong commanded Horse-Partees sent abroad, to lye upon severall Posts and Passages of advantage; to intercept the Kings Foragers. This was commonly the *Crabats* businesse: who lay up and downe, 4. 6. 8. or 10. miles from the Kings Leaguer. With these, had the *Swedish* Partees their most encounters; but for brevities sake, I must not insist upon every skirmish.

Walensteins
purpose, in en-
camping by
the King.

All this was done by *Walenstein*, with Iudgement, and like a Generall: and this was all the force hee used to constreine the King, to dislodge from before *Norimberg*, and to abandon it up to his mercy. Other force, he attempted none. He saw the Kings Works and Retrenchments, to bee made so strong, that it would proove a desperate peece of service, for
who.

whosoever should undertake to assault them. And *Walenstein* boldly gaue it out, *That it sorded not with the Service of His Imperiall Maiessty to have the new Army hazarded, upon a Battell or Invasion: That there had beene too much attempted that way, before; and that he would show the King of Sweden another kinde of Warre-faring.* And thus much indeed, was by some prisoners of great note, confessed unto the King; afterwards: namely, that the Imperiall *Generalissimo* had this plot upon him. To draw the Warre out into a length; and to a-waite the favour of opportunity: hoping, at last, to serve himselfe so well, upon the Kings necessities; that, either, they should so constraîne him, or his friends so perswade with him; that he should, if not offer, yet not deny; to hearken unto a good Treaty. This if it tooke well, then should the advantage, in the conclusion of the Peace, make him a faire fa-ver for his patience, preserve Him a gallant Army, to be o-therwhere employed for His Imperiall Majesty: and gaine, finally, a most ample reputation unto the name of *Walenstein*: as one that had onely knowne, how to handle the King of Sweden.

This was *Walensteins* Rest up, and he was resolved to act no part but of *Fabius*: he had the King in a Coope, or in a toyle already, and there (for a while) he meant to keepe him, and *Norimberg*. Something indeed, his Army did, at their very first comming into those Quarters: but they were not any attempts upon the Kings Trenches, but some out-rydings *Walensteins first attempts,* and *Cavalcadoes* onely, upon the *Tewes* of *Furt*, and *Burgers* of *Farenbach*, whom his men plundered. Some other foraging voyages they also made upon the Boores barnes and houses, in the smaller townes of the neighbour Marquisate of *Onspach*; (commonly called *The Lower Marquisate*) and into the Iurisdiction of the *Norimbergers*. The poore towne of *Swabach* (8 or 9 English miles from *Norimberg*) now falling into the Lordly displeasure of the *Generalissimo*, (for that it had slaine 50 of his men, in the taking of it) was by him destinated unto an uniuersall destruction. The execution *upon the coun- trey abroad.*

was stayed, by the Duke of *Bavaria's* intercession : (which was granted, as the first motion he had made to him) and the punishment commuted to a ranfome : as a surety for which moneyes, the chiefe Magistrate was carryed away prisoner.

Some *Walsteiners* repulled at *Winsheim*.

Divers able troopes, were by our *Generalissimo* (at his very first setting downe) dispatched further into the Marquisate of *Onspach*, and the Dukedome of *Franconia*. Neere *Onspach*, was the Towne and Castle of *Liechtenau* within the Iurisdiction of the *Norimbergers*, pressed, but not taken yet, by the *Walsteiners*. Three of their Regiments attempted an Aenslaught upon the Imperiall Citie of *Winsheim* upon the river *Aisch*, 30 English miles to the West of *Norimberg* : and 24 to the Northwest of *Onspach*. But this designe of theirs being discovered and defeated by the *Swedish* garrison, and the Burgers ; the Imperialists gate a shrewd brush here, left many of their fellowes behind them, and carryed off the best part of 1000 more, wounded with them into *Swabach*. They rambled up and downe as farre as *Vffenheim* also, eight miles more to the Westward. *Küzingen*, and *Swinfort* both, were in some dread of them : but that the river *Mayn* was a good Barricadoe betwixt them and the present danger. All that countrey likewise, which you see bounded with that mighty compasse of the river *Mayne*, to the Northward ; even from *Bamberg* unto this *Kitzingen* : was daily ouer-run and brought under contribution, by their Horfe-Partees. On the Northerne side of the *Mayne* also, those *Crabats* that had their Quarters in and about *Bamberg* ; did at pleasure roave up and downe the countrey, even unto the very wallles of *Wurtsburg*. Due South of *Norimberg*, moreover, even as farre as the Bishopricke of *Aichstet*, for above 30 English miles together ; was all at their devotion : and did daily furnish the Imperiall Leaguer with provisions. The *Crabats* (who are the ranke-ryders, and common harriers of the Imperiall Army) had by this time plundered *Hippolstein*, a prettie Towne betwixt *Norimberg* and *Aichstet*. Having lodged there a-while, they set it on fire at parting : barbarously enough

enough laughing at the poore mens miseries, *That they neuer used to pay their Hosts, in other money.* The Townes of *Carlsberg* and *Rostall* on the West of *Norimberg*, were also so served: none faring so well, as those that worst used them; and that had the courage to let flye their Ordnance among them. And thus farre was our *Generalissimo*, absolute Master of the Field: excepting those good Townes onely, which had *Swedish* garrisons in them. All this was done by the middle of *July*, 1632. and now turne we backe againe vnto *Norimberg*.

We told you before, of the good order taken by *Walenstein*, for the victualing of his Army: which for all his care, must bee contented with the entertainment of the Warres, and with many an *Italian* diener. The *Generalissimo's* ordinary dyet, was fixe dishes a meale, and two bottles of wine to it, as long as it lasted. The Kings table, perchance, was nothing better serv'd; as relying wholly vpon the Magazine of *Norimberg*. Hence (as I finde it from severall hands assured,) was his Campe furnished with 8000 pound of bread (80000 some name) daily. The *Norimbergers* wanted Mills, rather than corne: which the enemy had burnt downe. Both parties were faine to Steward their provisions, as thriftrily as they could: *Walenstein*, that he might haue enough to starve the King withall: and the King, to be able to hold out, till his Sureties, those other Armies which he had now sent for, should be comne vp to baile him. That which most necessitated both the Armies, was want of straw and Horse-meate: for which, while both sides sent abroad a foraging, there fell out many a shrewd bickering betweene them: one side carrying away oftentimes, what the others had before mowed. *Walenstein* kept his Army all this while, under very good discipline; nor durst hee leave them any more at large, unto the libertie of that former licentiousnesse, which in other Warres they had beene let loose unto. He very well knew, how neere he now was, unto a King of *Sweden*: who still, as any of the Imperialists durst venture abroad a Boot-haling; had ever some Partee or other, upon the powles of them.

And

Walenstein
courts the
King of Swe-
den.

The Kings
answer.

Walenstein
sends succour
into Bavaria ;

and Holck, into
Misnia.

And in the same manner were the *Swedes* also served : both sides taking their turnes , according to advantage. The first Warre that *Walenstein* now made with the King , was a contention of courtesie : for the man (certainly) is a gallant spirited personage , and full of noblenesse. Hee first of all , (and without ranfome ,) sent him home his well esteemed Colonell *Dubatek* : whom , (as in the latter end of our *Second Part* we told you) he had lately taken prisoner about *New-marcke*. With him, sent he the King this complement : *That he had no other ambition , then once to see his Majesty , in good termes with the Emperour his Master ; and himselfe to have the honour , to be the Instrument of it.* About a three weekes after , the same courtesie did he againe unto *Rismaiser Reychel* ; whom as he was seeking his adventure abroad , the *Crabass* had taken prisoner. His ranfome did *Walenstein* first pay unto the takers ; and then entertaining him in faire manner at his owne Table : franke and free sent him home , after dinner , with this message , onely , unto the King his Master. *That he esteemed his Majesty for the best Captaine of the World : and that he would abundantly rest himselfe contented , if he could not by force vanquish him ; yet that he might be the meanes to bring him to a good Treaty with the Emperour.* This being told the King as he after sate at table , He smiling said , *That hee was ready to doe Walstein reason at all times ; and for that he shew'd himselfe so honest a man , He had no canse to wish his Person any ill : the thing that hee above all desired , being , that they two might have a crash together , upon a faire campaignia.*

The Imperiall *Generalissima* purposing to contract himselfe into his great Leaguer : sends out , first of all , some of his Forces into other Countreyes. Some *Bavarians* (and I have heard that there were 12000 of them , though I beleeve not so many) were sent backe into their owne Dukedome.

About the 20th of *July* , was *Holck* , *Generall-Major* of the Horse , sent with 6000 Horse , and 4000 Muskettiers , towards the Duke of *Saxonyes* countrey. His sending out of these Forces , was ; first , to give the rest more roome at home ,
who

who else should have layne more pent and pestered in their Quarters. Secondly, to ease himsele of the charges of pay and victuals : they abroad, being to live (as they could) upon the Countrey. His sending out of the *Bavarians*, was to hinder *Baniers* joyning with the King : *Cratz*, with them, first way-laying him about *Weissenburg*, and then afterwards with the helpe of *Leopolds* forces, recovering *Landsberg*, *Schonga*, *Fneffen* and *Muncken* in *Bavaria*. As for *Holek*, he also was sent to hinder the joyning of Duke *William* of *Saxon-Weymar*, with the King : and if he should come too late for that purpose, then was he to fall into the Duke of *Saxons Voigtland* and *Misnia* : where, after Duke *Williams* comming away, he should finde the lesse resistance.

Said it is, that the Duke of *Bavaria* should now be earnest with the *Generalissimo*, to give on upon the King in his trenches, and to venture the beating of him out, before his reliefes should be come up to him. To this motion, the same Relation makes *Walenstein* returne this answer, That his Army was new, as yet; and if they should be beaten, then were all *Germany* and *Italy*, both endangered : but if *Bavaria* please to fall on first, he would second him with all his forces.

About the end of *July*, did the Duke of *Bavaria* send an *Expresse* unto the Count of *Pappenheim*; to invite him, rather to come with his forces from the *Wefer*, and to make a diversion into *Duringen*, or upon the Duke of *Saxony*; than to goe to serve the *Arch-Duchesse*. These letters being written in *Cyphers*, the Packet was intercepted about *Altemburg* in *Misnia*, upon the seventh of *August*: the Postilion was carried prisoner into *Salsfriet*, and the letters sent unto the King of *Sweden*. This had the Court of *Vienna*, likewise, desired from the Count of *Pappenheim*: who being absolute of himsele in *Brunswickland* was loath to come too neere a *Generalissimo*: and was now going to relieve *Mastricht*, upon rich promises.

The King, towards the 20 of *July*, hearing of a Convoe of *Walensteins*, that was to come out of the hether parts of

C

Austria.

and why.

Bavaria moves Walenstein, to beat the Kings Quarters.

Walensteins Answer.

Bavaria invites Pappenheim.

Austria, towards his Leaguer: sends out Colonel *Wippenhorst*, with a Partee of 800 Horfe, and as many Dragooners; to cut off that Convoe. With these 1600. did *Wippenhorst* light vpon 800. waggons laden with ammunition, and with Gunnes especially: which he destroyed.

The King learning out *Walensteins Magazine*

About the 27. of *July*, a Partee of *Swedish* Horfe, tooke one Captaine *Darmis* prisoner, amongst other Free-booters. He being examined by the King upon his oath, confessed that *Walensteins* great Magazine of victuals was at *Freyenstat*: which was the place appointed for whatsoeuer came from *Ratisbone*, and the *Upper Palatinate*, untill it were sent for to the Leaguer: which, within 3 or 4 dayes, a strong Convoe was about to goe for. The aduantage of this opportunitee, the King thought worth the taking: resolving, with the first, to send either to bring away the provisions; or to destroy that, which was to feed his enemies.

Sends *Dubatell* towards it,

This towne, is in the *Vpper Palatinate*; 5 *Dutch* miles, or 20 *English*, to the South of *Norimberg*, and 2 *Dutch* leagues from *Newmarcke*. The situation of it, is in a Morasse, upon the side of a small namelesse river, and betwixt it and *Schwartzach*. The Leader that the King made choise of to doe the feate, was Colonell *Dubatell*: whom *Walenstein* had lately taken prisoner, and againe released; as we before told you. The Colonell knew the Countrey thereabouts perfectly well: for it was not far from thence, that he had been taken prisoner. The troopes appointed to goe with him, I finde to be 14 Cornets of Horfe, some Companies of Dragooners; and two Wagons laden with Petards, Storming or Skaling ladders, &c. With these, comes he unto *Karnbergh* first; two *Dutch* miles from *Freyenstat*. His season and march, hee so proportioned; as that hee might bee before the towne hee went unto, afore day-light, upon the Munday morning *July* 30. He did so: and found most of the souldiers and townesmen, very securely sleeping: for who would have suspected, that the King of *Swedens* smaller Army; being besieged as it were, by two greater; durst have presumed to send twenty miles,

miles off, to surprize *Freyenstat*?

Dubatel, at his first comming before the Towne; surprises some drowfie Sentinels: and hangs two Petards upon the Sally-port. These not blowing upon the gate, as he expected; he fearing the noyse of their going off, would send in the Alarme into the Towne; claps his skaling ladders to the naked and un-man'd walles, which hee mounts and enters. Other Petards being by this time put to work, had forced open the gate, and made an easie passage that way, for the residue of the *Swedish*. They thus gotten in, cut in pieces those few souldiers, which they found either sleeping or unprovided, upon the next Courts of Guard: and whosoever else, offered to make resistance. Having thus mastered all opposition, they make towards the Towne-Hall, which was the Magazine or Store-house they came thither for. There were in it, at this present, 200000 pound weight of bread, great store of Meale, Corne, Salt, and other provisions, sufficient for two moneths victuals for *Walensteins* whole Army. For the bringing of all this unto the Emperiall Leaguer, were there 1000. Wagons provided: many of them already prest, and some laden, or, not yet unladen, upon the Market place. Many hundred head both of small and great Cattell, were likewise found about the towne, which were to be driven alive unto the Imperiall Army. Of these provisions, the *Swedish* first of all choosing out so much, as they thought themselves well able to carry away: set fire immediately unto the Magazine. The towne they first plunder, and then set fire to it in seven places at once. Dieers Ladyes, Gentlewomen, and Captaines wives, being at that time lodged within the towne, these, together with their apparell and such like feminine Baggage, as were not fitting for a souldiers wearing, did the *Swedish*, very honestly, set to shift for themselves without the towne. Twelve hundred Sheepe and Oxen, with 500 Horses, they also driving away with them, put themselves the same day homewards upon their march againe: safely recovering to the Kings Quarters, before the now following conflict.

who taking
the Towne,

Spoiles, and
brings away all
the provisions.

Some Relations
say, that *Dubatel*
destroyed
all; for that he
was not able to
bring it away
with him.

Sparre going
out to cut off
Dubatell in his
retreat;

Some of the Imperiall souldiers (it seemes) so soone as the *Swedes* were gotten into the towne; went Post with the newes of it unto *Walenstein*. Which he hearing of; immediately the same day dispatches the Sergeant-Major Generall of his Foot; towards *Freyenstat*: either to save the residue; or to cut off *Dubatell* in his comming home againe. It was Colonnell *Sparre* that was now sent: the same man whom the King had taken prisoner in *Aprill* last, at *Franckford* upon the *Oder*: and who had beene exchanged for Major-Generall *Kniphawfen*, whom *Tilly* had taken prisoner at *New Brandenburg*. *Sparre* was sent out with 8 Cornets of Horse, of *Coloredoes* and *Gonzagaes* Regiments, as I finde specified. Twenty troopes of *Crabats* had he also with him: and 500 commanded Muskettires. And he (as I have heard it told) was now going out towards *Amberg*, to finde out a convenient Post or Quarter, where to lodge 8 or 10000 men; to curbe in the *Swedish* foragers into that Countrey. Hee had a purpose, in his returne, to have spoyled *Altowff*; where the *Norimbergers* have an *Universtie*.

With these Forces, *Sparre* the same Munday, advances towards *Freyenstat*. Some of his people (as I guess) passed the river *Schwarzach*, about *Schwarzpruck* towne, over the bridge there: and some others of them (which I suppose to be drawne out of other Quarters) passed the said river beyond or about *Burgtan*; something more Easterly than their fellowes.

Is encountered
by the King.

The King of *Sweden* to prevent such a matter, and the better to secure the retreat unto *Dubatell*; goes himselfe out the same day, (before *Dubatell* was come home) with a selected Partee of some 2000 commanded men, towards the said *Freyenstat*. The King passed the river *Schwarzach*, at *Wendlestein* bridge, (as I take it:) betwixt which towne and *Burgtan*, was the future meeting and conflict. He being passed this bridge, sends (as the manner is) a Sergeant-Major with some Skowtes and Vant-curryers before him, to discover whether the coast were cleere: or whereabouts the Partees

Partees of the enemies, now where. The *Swedish* Major falling fowle of some of *Sparre* troopes, was charged and rowted by them, and himsele taken prisoner. He being brought unto *Sparre*, Wheres the King, saies he? At hand, answeres the Major. What forces brings he with him? certaine troopes of Horse, quoth the other. Hath he no Muskettiers, saies *Sparre*? No, answeres the *Swede*. Then certainly it is the King, said *Sparre*, and hee shall presently fall into my fingers.

But yet the King had some muskettiers that followed him; though, perchance, they had not all this while kept pace in the march with him.

The King having heard the peeces goe off, in the former conflict: had doubled his march upon it; and was come so neere by this time; that he met his owne men flying, and the *Walsteiners* giving chase unto them. The King riding up to his men, with his drawne sword in his hand, returnes their lost courages into them, and them into the Battell. Not many charges passed betwixt the King and the enemies Horse; but that the face of the skirmish began to be altered: insomuch that the Imperiall Horse and *Crabats*, were (to bee briefe) quite rowted and defeated. The Horse of *Gonzagaes* Regiment, play the pultrons and ranne away: whereupon *Gonzaga* himsele, (notwithstanding hee be Cofin unto the Empreffe) was at his coming to the Campe, cashiered by the *Generalissimo*: for all that hee cleered himsele to have beene forsaken by his Regiment, and to have beene the last man that stood to it. The 500. Muskettiers making their retreat into a small wood or groave, there at hand: held the King and his men play, a great season. Very good use made they of the wood: which is farre more advantageous for shot, than either for Horse or Pikemen. But the Kings Dragooners alighting with their Muskets, and his Horsemen round besetting the said wood: discouraged by and by, and overthrew the *Walsteiners*. *Sparre* himsele was taken prisoner: 600. of his men, were slaine upon the place: and divers more drowned and buried alive, in the river and moorish places, thorow which they thought to have escaped.

Sparre, had now quitted his Horse, and hid himsele in a

bush

*Sparre taken
prisoner.*

*The losses on
both sides.*

bath in the said thicket. Him, a *Swedish* common souldier thus light vpon. The *Swede* perceiuing a gallant empty horse standing tied up thereby, with a goodly embroydered saddle upon his backe: iudges him to belong to some brave Cavalier of the enemies, and goes out to find him. He was told by a Horse-boy (a *Walsteiner* then taken and threatned) that it was *Sparres* horse: whom he presently directed the *Swede* unto. He had a rich and massie gold chaine about his necke: of which the souldier first disrobing him, reacht him a good rude brush over the souldiers with the stocke of his Musket, and so brought him prisoner to the King. *Ha Monsieur Sparre* (saies the King) *I see you loue me so well, that you cannot finde in your heart to bee long away from mee.* *Sparre* being brought prisoner into *Norimberg*, was faine to take *Sperma Ceti*, for the bruisse that the rough souldier gaue him. With him, was his Lieftenant-Colonel *Tertsky* likewise taken, together with 4. Captaines, diuers Officers, and above 100. common souldiers. Three Cornets were then obtained, and 2. Ensignes: as for the rest, the *Ancients* had slipt them off from their Flagge-staves, and then runne away with them. The King rewarded each of those souldiers that presented him the *Colours*, with 100. Dollars. The losses on the Kings side where not many: but among them, was Colonel *Ries* slaine, who belonged unto one of the Dukes of *Saxon-Weymar*. *Boye*, a *Swedish* Gentleman, lost there his life, and *Yoncker Cratzenstein*, that waited vpon the King in his Chamber. This done, the King, the same night, returned towards his Leaguer: causing a most solempne *Thanksgiving* to bee made unto the *God of Battells*, for this double victory.

The *Swedes* after the taking of this *Freyenstat*, flew out as farre as *Haimburg*: some 9. or 10. *English* miles to the East of *Burgtan*, where the last encounter hapned. This towne, and the Castle to it, they now take in, by which helpe, was all the coast on that side indifferently well cleered: so that the *Walsteiners* being defeated of their intended Quarters

tering place in those parts, the *Swedes* roave freely vp and downe, as farre as *Amberg*.

Generall-Major *Sparre*, being once againe the Kings prisoner, was strictly and upon oath examined, what he knew of his Generalls purposes. He confessed, that they had no other plot upon the King, then by famine to compell him to a treaty. After this victory, there (for a while) passed nothing of moment, betweene the two Armies. The pettier skirmishes betweene commanded Partees abroad, or the continued night-almes upon one anothers Camps or Guards at home, I list not to stand upon. With the same silence would I have passed over, the diseases and fluxes both of the Towne and Leaguers: (notwithstanding that by middle August there dyed 1000. and 1400. a weeke of it) had not his Majesty the King of *Bohemia*, beene at this time troubled with it. The running away of men, on either side, I omit. The many dead horses: which by this beginning of August, came to some thousands, in both Leaguers: and which, (to the horrible noysomnesse of the Quarters, where they lay vnburied) daily more, and more encreased, (or diminished rather) I would not have offended you with; but to shew you how it was possible, for these two great Armies to be reduced to such small numbers; notwithstanding so few of them were in fight, killed.

Leaving these particulars, I shall (for want of other action) here impart an *Oration* of the King of *Sweden*, on the first of August made unto the Officers of his Army: than which *Speech*, I desire no other Character of the King of *Sweden*, nor no other Interpreter of the Heroicke Iustice, of his great intentions. The occasion was this, A complaint of the *Norimbergers* unto his Majesty, how that their lands and territories, had as ill beene plundered and destroyed, by those of the Kings owne Army, as by the enemies. Calling here-upon, the Officers, great and small, of his whole Army together, hee with the vivacity and passion of an Orator, (wherein hee was excellent) as well as with the authority of

Sparre examined and confession.

The mortality in Towne and Leaguers.

None are so well provided against this noysomnesse: as the *crabats*: who will cate you whole handfulls of raw Onyons & Garlick, as familiarly as an *Italian* wrings downe sallets, or we apples: as if they meant to out-stinke the carrion, and their owne Quarters.

of a King, uttered a most pathetick Oration before them, of which no more but this extract, hath comne within my Intelligence.

The Kings Oration against plunderers.

Yee Princes, Earles, Lords, and Gentlemen :

You, partly, are some of those numbers, that have shewed themselves unfaithfull and disloyall to their owne countrey, and who doe helpe to ruine it. You, my Generals, Leiftenant-Generals, and all your my inferiour Officers; I haue ever, (as to your honours I here confesse it) esteemed you for brave Cavaliers: and I beare you witnesse, that upon all occasion of seruaice offered, you haue in battell given mee so sufficient a demonstration of your valours, as that I haue therewithall rested satisfied. But, when having you all here before me, I am put in remembrance of your ravages, robberies, and plunderings: and that you your selues are guilty of these insolencies, and companions besides, with them that neither observe Discipline, nor doe iustice upon malefactors in these kinds: my haire standeth up on end, at the very horrour of it. Let your selues be Iudges. Is it not a dolefull and a lamentable case, yea most odious in the sight of Almighty God, that one Christian, and of the same profession in Religion, should pillage one another? one friend, nay one brother, ranfacke, spoyle, ruine and undoe one another? The very diuells in hell, are more loving and trusty one to another, then you Christians are, amongst those of your owne Countrey.

My heart almost fayleth mee; yea and my very bowels yearne within me, as oft as I heare it complained of, That the *Swedish* souldiers are more insolent, than the enemies. But they are not the *Swedes*, they are the *Germanes*, that commit all these insolencies. Had I knowne, that you *Germanes* had bene a people of this temper, of a humour, that had borne no more naturall affection to your owne native Countrey, and that you would haue done no better service for it, nor shewed more fidelity towards it; I would never haue saddled horte for your sakes: much lesse haue hazzarded mine

mine owne kingdome, my life and estate in your behalves; nor with mine owne person, have adventured so many a braye and valiant Gentleman, as I have done, for your well-fares. No, but since I now perceive, that your selves by these your carriages, seeme to affect and desire it; I would rather have suffered you to remaine in the case yee were in: even plunged in that more then most miserable condition, of an eternall servitude and slavery.

Let your owne consciences be my witnesses, that I doe not usually, deny any of you, a reasonable motion: *Yea my God knoweth besides, That I neuer intended any other thing, then (by his blessed assistance) to restore every man to his owne, and his owne to every man: and for the remainder, especially what I should obtaine either in Franconia or Bavaria, to distribute and part it among the Nobilitie and Gentry of your nation, and to leave no mans good service unrewarded.* But this most accursed, divelish robbing and stealing of yours; doth, I must needs confesse, much abate my good purposes, and keepe back these my Christian intentions. Have you not so much iudgement left, as to consider what kinde of fame and praise that is like to proove; which posteritie shall leave of you, in all future *Histories*? Remember withall, I beseech you, what a clogge you hereby tie upon your owne consciences: and what iudgements and punishments you draw downe upon your persons; and posterities, Countrey and Successours, by these acts of oppression and inhumanitie. Oh, that you cannot consider with your selves, what a fearefull account you are to yeeld up to God, at that great and most dreadfull Audite. And for mine owne part; rather would I have still remained in mine owne kingdome, then have comne hither to behold these insolences.

You will say, perchance, That you want monyes. But when I have the meanes to satisfie both you and the whole Army; and you by pillaging, robbing, and plundering, shall deprive mee of these meanes: where, I beseech you, is the fault, that you are not satisfied? What share have I at any
D time

The eighth of
this month,
he gave his Ar-
my a moneths
meanes, out of
the moneys
then borrowed
of the *Norim-
bergers* at fixe
in the hundred.

time received, out of all these your bootyes? Just nothing. I doe protest before God, and it is most true that I say, that I have not by all this Warre so much enriched my selfe, as a paire of Bootes come to: and I professe withall, that I would rather ryde without Bootes, than any wayes, or in the least degree, make my selfe the richer, by the damage or undoing of these poore people. I will make it appeare to you, whosoever is desirous therein to be satisfied; That since the comming out of mine owne kingdome, at 32 severall returnes, I have had full 40 tunnes of gold, made over to mee: all which, I have spent for your good, and for the re-establisment of such Princes, as are united with mee, in the same truth of Religion. I might, I confesse, have herein bene silent; but the remembrance of that great losse, which by the deaths of so many brave Worthies and Cavaliers, (whose vertues, indeed, were beyond all estimation) I account my selfe to have sustained, even constrained mee to utter what I doe: for, truly, I ever valedwed them, beyond all my riches. And you for your parts; what have you contributed towards all these Warres? This is all, that henceforth I shall desire at your hands, That you spoile not others of their goods, but leave every man unto his owne possessions. The choler and manhood that you have, skore it (a Gods name) upon the fronts of your enemies: but distaine not the honour of a souldiour, by insulting upon unarmed innocents. Live upon your meanes, like souldiours; and not upon pilfering, and spoyling, like highway-robbers. This if you doe not, you shall ever be infamous; and I by such helpers, never become victorious.

¶ Piously spoken, and like a King of Sweden; even like *Gustavus Adolphus*: who had the Religion of a Bishop, and the Equity of a Lord Chiefe Justice in him. And this Oration was said to be delivered with that *swing and life*, that it extracted teares of compunction from these Military hearers: even from men of that profession, who had rather bleed then weepe; and doe it oftner. But for that, though words may moove compassion, yet they alwayes worke not reformation; this

this Speech was seconded with a *Proclamation*; and that made more severe by a *Penalty*: That his Majestie would from henceforth pardon no man, were he Earle, Generall, Colonell; or of what degree and condition soever, that should in this kinde be againe complained of. Adding withall, That if to avoide punishment, any of them all, or all together, should conspire upon a mutinie; that hee with his *Swedes* and *Finnlanders* would undertake so to rattle them, that the very shivers of their staves should flie about the eares of them. This prohibition was no sooner by sound of trumpet Proclaimed; but to show how severe he meant to be in his executions; he causes a Leiftenant to be hanged, for committing some of these aforesaid insolencies. When also a Boore having complained of a souldiour for stealing his Cow from him, there was meanes made to save the delinquent; *My sonne*, sayes the King to him, it is better that I should now punish thee; then that the wrath of God, for thy misdeeds, and his Iudgements, should fall downe upon mee, and thee, and upon all of us here present.

The same day of this Oration, was a Quarter-Master of *Walensteins* taken prisoner: who had the *List*, about him, of all the Imperiall Forces. By this time was the Court of *Vienna*, very well pleased with the deportment of their *Generalissimo*. And he very well deserved it: for he held the King *cesar well pleased with walenstein.* streightly coopt up hitherto, and had first found out the secret, *That the way to beate the King of Sweden, was not to fight with them.* Boldly hereupon did they give it out, That the King of *Sweden* was starke foundred, not able to lift up his legge from the place hee stood on and had therefore demanded a Peace of the Emperour, and leave to retire himselfe out of *Germany*: But his Imperiall Majestie would now handle him in another fashion. As for the King himselfe, he never desired any peace of the Emperour: but (because I will not call it an invention) the rumour might arise, perchance, from the King of *Denmarks* Ambassadour: who in his Masters name (about this time) made some overtures

Termes of
peace talked of.

of a treaty unto his Imperiall Majestie. The Articles hereof, being by an Expreſſe, ſent unto *Walenſtein*; Major-Generall *Spærre* a little after this, deſired leave of the King that hee might goe into *Walenſteins* Leaguer, to propound ſomething, in his owne name, about a peace, and the exchange of certaine priſoners. His motion came to nothing. *Walenſteins* ſelfe, certified nothing but honour of the King, unto *Vienna*; wiſhing indeed, that there might be ſome accommodation by a treaty. The better to draw the King on to a treaty, was his Queenes Coſin, *Chriſtian William* Adminiſtrator of *Magdenburg*, uſed in the buſineſſe, (together with the *Daniſh Ambaſſadour*;) whom the Emperour in *Aprill* before, had againe ſet at liberty. The young *Landgrave* of *Darmſtad* ſtill continued a ſtrong ſolliciter for a Peace; and eſpecially to his Father in Law the Elector of *Saxony*. But neither could they worke it. Some other motions that way, were ſeverall times projected; but the cunning was, ſo to bring about the termes, to give both ſides ſatisfaction.

The Story of
the ſeverall Ar
mies, now com
ming towards
the King.

Leaving theſe Treaties in the aire, into which they preſently vaniſht: we will turne our ſtile towards action againe. Omitting withall, thoſe ſmaller skirmiſhes, which daily fell out about the Leaguers: wee will prepare our Readers for greater matters. Thoſe Armies which the King (as we told you) had at *Walenſteins* firſt comming, ſent for to come and be his *Maine-prizers*: were by this time a drawing together about the river *Mayne* in *Franconia*. Turne we, then, aſide a-while, to fetch theſe Armies into action. The Generals of theſe Armies were the *Reichs* Chancellor *Oxenſtiern*, the two Dukes of *Weymar*, the *Landgrave* of *Heſſen*, and *Banier*: of all whom ſeverally.

Of *Oxenſtiern*,

The *Reichs* Chancellor *Axel Oxenſtiern*, having by the Armes of *Gustavus Horn*, brought the action to a good paſſe in the Electorate of *Triers*, and with the Biſhop of *Cullen*: had ſhe better leiſure now, to goe waite upon the King his Maſter. About the 11th of *July*, ſet he out from *Mentz*: with about 8000. men (as 'twas given out) in his Army. To him
does

does the *Landsgrave William* of *Hessen* with 3. Regiments, and *Hessen*: first come, into *Franconia*. His way, was from the river of *Wefer*: *Pappenheim* (his great adversary) being now going to *Maastricht*-ward. *Hessen* and the *Chancellor*, both met ^{who being} at *Wurtsburg*: there expecting the coming of the other ^{ioyned} forces.

There whilst they are, they were not idle: the Imperialists being masters of the smaller townes thereabouts, and going out vpon dayly Partees; gaue them occasion of exercise. About *July 20.* the *Landsgrave* of *Hessen* sending out a Partee of 500. Horse; with as many muskettiers: lighting vpon 3. companies of *Walsteiners*, kills 100. of them, tooke 2. Cornets, and 500. Prisoners, which well helped to increase the Army. This was about *Schweinsfurt*, in the *Landsgraves* way towards *Wurtsburg*. About this time, the Imperialists of *Forcheim*, made a Cavalcado out vpon the Palace of the Counts of *Cassel*: which they surprised and plundered, to the worth of 200000. *Florens*. Good store of prouisions being found therein, the *Walsteiners* went home for some wagons, minding the next day to goe fetch away this booty. By this, had the *Chancellor* heard of it: who sending out the *Palatine Brickenfels* to way-lay them: he with 3. troopes of Dragoons charged them so home, that they were faine to leave their carriages to the *Swedish*: and with the losse of 150. men and 30. prisoners, to betake themselues into *Forcheim*. The *Finnish* Colonell *Stollbanske* (who also came vp with the *Chancellor*) going along the *Maine* with 4. Cornets to seeke his adventure: he betwixt *Vffenhaim* and *Kitzingen*, met also with a weake Partee of Imperialists: that were convoying 100. Wagons lading of meale, towards *Walenstein*. These hee first rowting, and they flying towards *Vffenhaim*: the *Fins* so hard pursued them, that they entered the towne pell mell with them. Thus was the Towne and the meale-carts, taken both together: for which exploit, who can deny but the *Fins* very well deserve to eate white-bread.

doe something
upon the
Imperialists

in severall
places.

Duke William
Weymars Story.

The King of Sweden then had an Ambassadour with the Switzers (*Chevalier Rache* they call him) with whom the Duke of *Roban* joyned his Masters minde, to the Switzers: by which two, and Duke William, were these Cantons brought about, to the King of Sweden

The English & Scottish of my Lord Marquess of Hamiltons Army, being reduced to 2. Regiments,

are taken on by Duke William Weymar.

About this 20. of *Iuly* (*Stilo veteri*) was Duke William of *Saxon-Weymar*, Lieftenant-Generall to his Maiesty; come up into *Franconia*. This was his march, and Forces. How hee and his brother *Bernard*, had bene left about *Schwabland* and *Bavaria*, at the Kings comming towards *Norimberg*: wee leave to be read in our *Second Part*. Hee making towards the *Bodensee* (called the *Lake of Constantz*) so well settled the Switzers with the neighbourhood of his Army; that upon the King of Swedens letter to them (which see page 173. of our *Second Part*) they (both *Catholicks* and *Protestants*) agreed together to stop up their passages against the *Spanish* out of *Italy*, and to give no aides unto the Emperour: notwithstanding the vehement solicitations of Chancellor *Wolmar*, Ambassadour with them for the Arch-Duke *Leopold*. Duke William having done this by the middle of *June*, was sent unto by the King of Sweden, to goe and take on the *English* and *Scottish* of my Lord Marquess of *Hamiltons* Army, then about *Halberstat*. Something of whose Story, we demand leave here to impart unto you.

Of their comming from *Magdenburg* unto *Halberstat* in *Brunswick-land*, we shall anon tell you. Here, at *Halberstat* they lay, upon their owne money, untill about *Low-Sunday*, the 8. of our *April*: at which time, by order from the King of Sweden, they were reduced vnto 2. Regiments. The first was of the *English*; over whom was *William Bellendine* (a *Scottish* Gentleman) made Colonell, and Captaine *Terret* Lieftenant-Colonell: They had order to enquarter at *Blanckenburg* in the little County of *Regenstein*, due South of *Halberstat*. Of the *Scottish* Regiment, was *Alexander Hamilton* made Colonell: who was sent to lye at *Warningeroda*, in the same County, within two Dutch miles of the *English*. Here lay both the Regiments, untill they were drawne out by order from Duke William, to goe with him to dis-engage the King from before *Norimberg*. To meete with Duke William, they first by a South-Easterly march, goe

goe thorow the County of *Mansfeld* unto *Hall*: where they peec't in with 2. Regiments of Foote more; the *Blue* Regiment, whereof *Rosse* is Colonell: and the *Greene* Regiment, led by Colonell *Wardure*. With these, came 4. Foote-Companies of Colonell *Mitzvall* Governour of *Rain* in *Bavaria*: and a Regiment of Horfe, commanded by Colonell *Wedels*. Thence goe they to *Lutzen* in *Misnia*, where the Battell was after fought) and so to *Zeitz* (where they first found Duke *William*, with some few troopes of Horfe and Foote, which were, indeed, but some oddes Squadrons of his owne guards. Thence goe they to *Altemburg*, where they staid 2. or 3. dayes, being well entertained by the Duke of *Saxon Altemburg*. Thence goe they something backe againe to *Grea*, on the River *Elster*, where they tarried two dayes more: and thence to *Greventall*, on the edge of the *Duringerwaldt*. Crossing the said great Forest, at first to the Southward, they then turne to *Hilperhausen*, a towne of the Duke of *Saxon-Coburgs* on the other side of the wood, in *Francia*. In the field hereabouts, the Army quartered some 8. or 10. dayes: the Duke of *Saxon-Coburg* sending them some barrels of powdred Venison. Hither came there another Regiment of Duke *Williams*: levied among the Boores, his owne subiects. But these Boores were sent backe, all but 400. which were ioyned in a *Brigade* with Colonel *Hindersons* Dragoones, that were then a raising. Hither also came 5. Regiments from the Elector of *Saxony*. Two, of Horfe, over both which, the Baron of *Hoffeirch* was Major-Generall: one of them being his owne, and the other the Prince of *Anhalts*. The other three, were Foote-Regiments: 2. of their Colonels being *Vitzdumb* and *Postitz*: whose Lieutenant *Bosen* had the Regiments after him. These made up Duke *William* 6. *Brigades* of Foote; compleate numbers. The first *Brigade* was made up of the 2. Regiments of our nation: 8. *Dutch* companies being put to them: that is, 4. of *Mitzvalls*, and 4. of *Steinbocks*. This *Brigade* was commanded, by one Colonel one day; and by t'other, another day. The second

The way of
their march to
him, first.

And with him
to the Chancel-
lor *Oxenstiern*,
afterwards.

Duke *Williams*
whole strength.

cond and third *Brigades*, were the *Blew* and *Greene*, before mentioned. The fourth was of the new levied Boores of Duke *Williams*: and the fifth and sixt were of the Elector of *Saxonyes*: 600. Muskettiers being put to them. Besides all these, there was a Squadron of almost 600. men, which went for a weake Regiment. These altogether, might make up some 8000. strong. Of horse forces, had he first his owne Regiment; secondly, Generall *Baniers* Regiment, commanded by *Ister*, that was his Leiftenant-Colonel: which two Regiments made up some twenty Cornets; besides two Companies of Dragoones, belonging to *Grimes* and *Lather*, two *Scottish* Captaines. The Dragoones ride like Horse-men: but they fight on foot. From *Hisperhausen*, went the Army to *Kunigshoven*: and thence to *Schweinsfurt* upon the *Mayne*, where the Duke entrenched. Hence was a Partee of 500. Muskettiers, sent to plunder a little towne, some halfe a dayes march from *Schweinsfurt*: whence they returned with good Booty.

All this Relation of Duke *Williams*, received I from Leiftenant-Colonell *Terrret*, Captaine *Feilding*, and Captaine *Legg*, then present in the Action

Here staid the Army some 10 or 14 dayes: and the Chancellor *Oxenstiern* and the Landgrave of *Hessen*, being now about *Wurtsburg*: the two Armies about August 10th. mooved one towards another, and met about *Kitzing* upon the *Mayne*, due East of *Wurtsburg*: altogether encamping on the Easterne side of the river, next unto *Norimberg*. Thence after foure or five dayes, goe they Southerly towards *Winshaim* on the river *Aisch*, mid-way betwixt which *Kitzing* and *Winshaim*, marching by Generall *Baniers* and Duke *Bernard* of Saxons *Weymars* Quarters: whose forces ioyn'd with them betwixt *Uffenhaim* and *Winshaim*. And their march out of *Bavaria*; turne we backe againe to bring vp, untill this their ioyning with the other Armies.

The King at his last comming out of *Bavaria*, left the Generall *Banier* with an Army about *Ausburg*: whose businessse was, to observe the *Bavarians*, and to keepe the new Conquest in as good order, as the enemies would let him. The two Brothers of *Saxon-Weymar*, (*William* and *Bernard*),

were

were left with an Army on the out side of *Bavaria*; about *Memmingen* in *Schwabland*: who with Sir *Patrick Ruthven*, were to looke to *Ossa*, the *Leopoldists*, and the *Imperialists* in that *Circle*: those, namely, already in the country betwixt the *Lech*, the *Danubye* and the *Bodensee*: or which were in the Dukedome of *Wirtemberg* or *Alsatia*; who were still Masters of that corner of *Germany*. Their chiefe Leaders were *Ossa* (both Generall and Commissary, for those parts) *Eggon* Count of *Furstenberg*, and *Hannibal* Count of *Hohen-Ems*: which two, having no Army, nor Military Commission from the Emperour (that I heare of) did but labour by raising the Boores (their Tenants and neighbours) to keepe their owne Lands quiet: *Hohen-Ems*, his; at the South end of the *Bodensee*; and *Furstenberg*, his; beyond the *Bodensee* and the *Schwartz-walde* betwixt *Wirtemberg-land* and *Alsatia*, towards the *Rhine-streame*. In *Alsatia*, the Emperours two Generals were *William* (called) Marquesse of *Baden*, and the Count of *Monte Cuculi*: of all which wee shall speake in their order.

The Story of Duke Bernard, and Banier since the Kings comming out of *Bavaria*.

The rest of the Actions of this corner, shall be spoken of in *Gustavus Horns* Story.

The Duke *Bernard* after the taking of the Towne of * *Isnau* among the mountaines towards the *Bodensee*; had also taken the Count of *Hohen-Ems* prisoner in his owne Castle, by *Bregentz* and the *Bodensee*: wee have partly told you Page 172 of our *Second Part*. This done, while Sir *Patrick Ruthven* and Colonel *Schavalitzki* were employed on the *Wirtemberger* side of *Ulm* and the *Danubye*: the *Imperialists* (as Page 179 we there told you) were busie about *Ebingen*. To that towne (his brother *William* being now gone to take on the *Scottish* and *English*) turnes Duke *Bernard*. Saturday, June 23, came hee before the Ports: those breakes hee open with a Petard; and by sound of trumpet after his entry, commanding the townes-men to avoyd the slaughter by taking them to their Houses: hee puts 150 souldiers to the sword: who had before surprized the *Swedish* Officers. Whilest Duke *Bernard* was thus in action about the *Danubye*; the *Leopoldists* forces, were as busie about the *Lech*, fixtie

* The Maps write *Isnae* or *Isne*, and *Isnau*.

Duke *Bernard* takes *Ebingen*.

E

English

English miles to the South-East of this *Ehingen*. There, about the 20th of *June*, reprise they *Fuessen* first, and *Schonga* afterwards: the Townes-men befriending them. Thence advance they more Northerly towards *Ausburg*; infesting all places about *Landsparg*: where the Citizens also admit them. They, by night, surprize the Cloyster of *Munsgratt*; and there put a troope of *Swedish* Horse to the sword, making the Capitaine prisoner.

* For *Aleringer* was now *Bavariaes* Felt-Marsall.

The *Bavarian* Major-Generall * *Cratz*, in the beginning of *July*, recovers *Munchen* againe: and the fifth of the same moneth by the invitation of the Townes-men, are some troopes of his admitted into *Friedberg*, within five *English* miles of *Ausburg*. Generall *Banier* had, till now, bene employed towards *Tirole*, *June* 16, hee went from *Ausburg*, with foure Regiments, and twentie Peeces of Canon. Then besieged he *Winegarten*: which was taken on Sunday *July* 8th: before which, himsele in person was upon occasion of *Cratz* his comming so neere *Ausburg*; sent for backe againe. His Army upon the taking of *Winegarten*, made those of the Imperiall Townes of *Wangen* and *Ravenspurg*, flee into *Bregentz*. *Lindaw* on the *Bodensee*, was forely now frighted: and the Army should have gone further to stop up the passages in the *Alps* of *Tirole*: to keepe the *Italian* Aydes out of *Germany*. The particulars of all which, I for brevity and want of eye-witnesses, here omit. He being now returned to *Ausburg*, hearing of this perfidiousnesse of the *Friedbergers*; sends the very next day, (*Friday July* the sixth) to reprise the Towne againe. The gates are blowne open; and the *Bavarians* cut in pieces: just as they had done to seventie *Swedish* in the Towne, which were laid there, as the *Safeguards* of it. And to make the Townes-mens false-heartednesse, an example to the rest: the *Swedish* putting the women and children out of the towne burnt it quite downe to ashes.

By this time is Duke *Bernard* returned from *Ehingen*, against these people of the Arch-Duke *Leopolds*. Comming neere *Landsparg*, the Citizens, fearing to be served like those of

of *Friedberg*, meete and present their Keyes unto the Duke: on their knees begging their liues of him. The same doe they of *Schonga*: the *Leopoldish* still voyding the countrey before his comming. They still retiring v^p the *Lechs* side, to *Rosshaupten*; there, the Dukes men were too quicke for them: for lighting thereabouts upon two troopes of Dragooners, and one of Carabines; the *Weymarish* killed some thirty of them, and rowted the rest into *Fuessen*. At the heeles of them, the Duke now followes; and his summons to the Towne being refused, he presently carries it by Petards and Scaladoes. Here were 1500. men of *Altringers* old Regiment, in garrison: 300. of which being in the heate of slaughter, cut off: the rest flung downe their Armes, and gave up their names to serve under the Dukes Ensignes. Here was *Altringers* brother in law taken, with the Lord of *Diederickstein*, and other Officers. Here the Duke passing over the *Lech*; surpriseth three Forts betwixt the Townes of *Eruberg* in the mountaines, and *Reutte* upon the river *Lech*: into which, the Duke having put good garrisons; retournes his Army over the *Lech* againe, and advances towards *Donawert*.

Duke Bernards
defeating of
the Leopoldish
Forces.

and recovering
of townes from
them, upon the
Lech.

This was about the 24. of *July*: by which time there had a new command comne to *Banier* and him, to hasten towards *Norimberg*. And they were by this time at indifferent good leisure. Now had *Banier* recovered *Munchen*, and chased *Cratz* out of the Countrey: and now too, had Duke *Bernard* well cleered the *Lech* of the *Leopoldish*: So that leaving the countrey well garrison'd, and Sir *Patrick Rushven* to guard the rest; they now begin to draw together towards *Donawert*: and so to march into the Bishopricke of *Aichstet*, and by that, into *Franconia*.

The State they
left Bavaria in.

In the beginning of our *August*, the two Generalls put themselves upon their march: going first unto *Weissenburg*, 20. English miles North of *Donawert*. *Cratz* knew his old Quarter: and hereabouts, and at *Wilsburg* Castle (hard by *Weissenburg*) offered he to make some opposition. But this

* Either for not doing enough here, or in *Bavaria*, did this *Cratz* (I heare) fall into *Walenstein's* displeasure: for which he was (as I have heard) imprisoned. This is sure, that after this time, I have read of nothing done by *Cratz*, but by *Fagge*, *Altringer*, and *Monte Cuculi*.

came to so little, * that other writings make no mention it. Now were *Banier* and Duke *Bernard*, with 30 English miles of *Norimberg*: had they gone (I meane) the neereſt way to it. But this they durſt not venture: for beſides that they were not ſtrong enough, to have marched thorow the countrey, every where infeſted with the *Walſteiners*: they had been farre too weake, to have paſſed by his great Leaguer. Here, therefore, they begin to alter their courſe of marching; ſo that turning faces about to the *left*, they make towards the other *Swediſh* Armies in *Franconia*. The way they tooke, was along the Forreſt in which *Guntzenhauſen* ſtandeth. Thence advancing to the North-ward; they come to *Rotenburg*; and ſo by *Kregling*, to *Rotingen*: their Army *Auguſt* the 14. meeting with the Chancellors and the reſt, beſides *Effenhaim*, as Page 32, we have before told you.

With *Baniers* Army, came there a noble young Gentleman of our Nation, one Maſter *William Harvey*, onely Son to the Lord *Harvey*: who now upon his returne from a three yeeres travell, in *Ieruſalem*, *Conſtantinople*, *Italy*, &c. meeting with the Armies: had a generous ambition to ſee the action at *Norimberg*, where hee heard ſo famous a King to be engaged.

They ioyned with *Oxenſtiern*.

Munday *Auguſt* the 13. did *Oxenſtierns* Army paſſe *Kitzing* bridge, and that night, peect in with Duke *William Auguſt* 14. came Duke *Bernard* and *Banier* to them. *Auguſt* 15. they marcht but 2. *Engliſh* miles: whence the next day to *Nenſtat* on the *Aiſch*. The *Walſteiners* that had before taken up all the Poſts and Paſſages of this countrey, retyred ſtill before them, towards their Generaliſſimo. *Auguſt* 17. The *Swediſh* encamped not farre from *Hertzog-Aurach*: which the K. for their commodity, had t'other day made himſelfe Maſter of. *Aug.* 18. they advance to *Bruck*, 10. miles North of *Norimberg*: where the ſmall river *Aurach*, falls into the *Rednitz*. On the Weſterne ſide of which river, (the towne ſtanding on the Eaſt) the Armies entrench for 2. or 3. dayes: building up Batteries and Redoubts, in this neereſſe of the enemy.

There may be an error of a day or twoes time, in the Journalls of theſe Armies.

enemy. Hither, came the King himselfe, and overiewed the Army, as it was drawne up into *Battaglia*, which he found to be 16000. marching men, all fresh and lusty. They were 12. *Brigades* of Foote, besides commanded Muskettiers: but of the Horse I have no certainty. The Imperialists having here broken downe the bridge, the King causeth it to be repaired: over which, *August* the 20. in the evening, the Army marched: entrenching the same night before *Bruck*. Now were 3. Regiments sent over to take up the passage at *Furt*: which were the *English*, the *Blue*, and the *Greene* Regiments: who there entrenching themselves; Major-General *Kniphausen* came to command over them.

which every Reader would not haue observed. But I will deceive thee, no further then I my selfe am deceived.

A solemne day of prayer being had in the *Swedish* Leaguer, for the happy ioyning, and good successe of the Armies: the King quitting his Trenches about *Norimberg*, came the 21. of *August*, to meete the Chancellors Army; they likewise advancing to meete him: ioyned both Armies together, about 12. or one a clocke the selfe same Tuesday. All then being drawne up into *Battaglia*, before the enemies Trenches; stood there all that day, to make a Brave upon him.

Altogether ioyning with the King, before *Walensteins* Trenches.

And thus have I concluded this long digression, for bringing up of all the Kings forces to him: which if the Readers censure, for too long an interruption from the Kings Story, I must, in stead of answering, craue a faire pardon of them: And yet to say something towards a Reason. Besides that it had bene pittie to have lost all their Stories: I knew not on the sudden, how to drop all these Armies, out of the cloudes into the King's Leaguer; nor how, bluntly, and all at once, to shoote them in an Engine, as farre as *Norimberg*. And therefore have I brought them, faire and softly, upon their feete all the way, out of their severall Stations.

Now was the King resolved, to bring the whole cause, to a day of hearing: and that as loud, as the Cannons could roare it. He was now full 46000. men in field; though not all then in *Battaglia*. The King of *Bohemia*, (by this time

The fight
described
August 21.

well recovered of his Leaguer-sicknesse) was in the field with him : both the Kings being desirous to tempt the enemy out of his Campe, into faire Campagna; fully purposed, if that offer were refused, to set upon him in his Trenches. And so might they, if they pleased : *Walenstein* would not budge a foote, out of his Quarters. On the *Norimberg* side of his Trenches, therefore, the King casts up three great Batteries; and from thence plaid incessantly into *Walensteins*, Quarters : he thundering as furiously upon them againe. The *Swedish* Muskettiers going neerer the Trenches, were with small shot answered from them againe : but neither small nor great shot, did much harme upon one another; saving onely that Generall *Banier*, going too neere to view a worke; received a Musket bullet in the left arme above the elbow, where it was left sticking.

August 21.

The next day, the King caused some greater Peeces of Ordnance to be mounted upon his Batteries: some of which, shot 21. pound ball, and some 42. *Walenstein* answering with some, that shot 48. These roared upon one another for a great time together : but the Kings plainly, did little spoyle upon the enemies. The *Walsteiners* wisely withdrew themselves, out the beate and raking of the *Swedish* Ordnance : which were (after the making of 700. shot) perceived, to doe more execution on the earth and trees, then upon the enemies. Now was it with perspective glasses to be discerned, from off the Kings Batteries, that there was scarce a *Walsteiner* to be seene stirring : For this reason : the King causeth his Ordnance to be dismounted : not willing to smoake away so much powder in squibs; nor to doe no more then plowe up the ground, with the grazing of so many bullets, of that weight and height, meerely shot off at an empty randome. Yet one shot let me not omit, because the King made it. The King (as tis written) spying in the morning, with his Perspective from one of his Batteries, a gallant Cavalier mounted and prancing before his Companies : that surely (saith the King) should be either *Walenstein* or *Altringer*; and have
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at him. Causing therefore a peece to be traversed and bent full upon him; the King tooke his levell, and bade *give fire* to it. Vp into the aire flew the Cavalier, horse and man: but it proved to be but a Colonell.

The King having dismounted his owne Cannon, and given order to have the *Norimbergers* drawne out into the Trenches about the Towne; he that day and the next, passes the most part of his Army over the river *Rednitz*, a little above *Furt*, before named. His purpose in it was, to possesse himselfe of a certaine hill thereby: by advantage whereof hee hoped assuredly, either to batter out, or beate out, the enemy from his Quarters. This done, the 24. of our August (being *Saint Bartholomewes* day) was resolved upon for the generall onset. The same 23. of *August*, fell there out a skirmish on the further side of the *Rednitz*, betwixt the *Crabats* and the Kings people: at which, whilest, amongst other Gentlemen Master *William Harvey* (before named) was desirous to be present; he was most unfortunately drowned, in passing over the river. A Gentleman hee was, who might one day have merited a place in our owne *Chronicles*; for few young Sparkes were there among the Nobility of any Nation, either finelier made up, more gentilely bred, or more compleatly improved. Nor is this more then a moderate *Laudaive* of him; for so say they, that could iudge him. Very great, therefore, is the losse of such a Sonne, to his honourable Parents: but greater will be the want of such as he, to his Native Countrey

Walenstein perceiving the Kings intention, he the better to assure his Cannon and Ammunition, retired himselfe into the Forest called *Altemberg*: which belongeth unto the Marquesse of *Onspach*. Here could he make use, likewise, of a certaine old Fortresse, which had beene a Lodge, or some such like thing) in the younger dayes of it. Here, likewise, did he very strongly entrench himselfe, and barricadoed up all the wayes, by cutting downe the trees round about him. The hill was high, and very steepe: craggie withall, and bushie;

bushie; so that it was an impossible thing (almost) to be taken from an enemy, that had any courage to dispute it. The Duke of *Bavaria's* Quarters (as it hapned) were at that time neereſt to the King and the danger: and among his men, the Cannon bullets moſtly lighted.

The great fight
August 24.

Bartholmew day being comne, the worke was begun with *Prayers*, for the happy ſucceſſe of it. So the King of *Sweden* ſtill uſed: nor thought he himſelfe either *arm'd* or *valiant*, till he had prayed. That morning, about nine a clocke, was there a certaine Footman or Lackey of *Altringers*, brought priſoner to the King: who, (as by pregnant circumſtances was afterwards collected) had bene purpoſely expoſed by the enemy, to be taken priſoner by us. This ſlye fellow very confidently informed the King: How that the moſt part of *Walenſteins* Horſe, had already forſaken their Quarters, and were about to runne quite away from the Leaguer. The King, indeed, from this higher ground, ſaw the Army in motion: but it was not to runne away from their Colours, but with all ſpeed to poſſeſſe themſelues of the little mountaine and old Caſtle, and another Fort upon it: which it had bene eaſie otherwiſe for the King to haue taken, and from thence to have beaten *Bavaria*, firſt, and then *Walenſtein*, out of their Leaguers.

The King by and by perceiving their intention, and againe obſerving the great advantage of the place: reſolved, (which ſome thinke hee had not, untill this newes of *Altringers* Footman) that notwithstanding the enemy had prevented him in it; and had now made the action more desperate: yet that it muſt immediately bee ſet upon. Putting his Army, therefore, into Battaglia, (as well as the place would give leave) the King himſelfe led on the *Vant-guard* of the left Wing: Duke *William* of *Saxon-Weymar* had the honour of the Battell, to cloaſe up the Kings right hand: and Duke *Bernard*, with the *Landsgrave* of *Heſſen*, brought up the Reere. Some of theſe troopes, were ſent to fall on upon that ruinous old Caſtle of *Altemberg*, on the hill aforeſaid.

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The other part, were still left at the bottome of the Hill, and upon the sides of it: to lye in ambush amongst the trees and bushes there, to keepe off the Aides and Seconds of the enemy; and to shrowd themselves withall, from the fury of the enemies Cannon. This place also served for a Retreat unto their fellowes, should they chance to be overlayed: the men, besides, being there neere at hand, to be sent for upon occasion. The place, indeed, was naturally fit for such a purpose: for it was a hollow over-hanging in the hills side; where they lay in a Covert from any offence of the enemy. The order of the Assault was to this purpose: Every Colonel and Commander was assigned to his Post; 500 men were ordered to fall on: which were every two houres releued, with fresh Seconds. These were commanded Muskettiers all; drawne out of the severall *Brigades*: and the Colours staid with the rest, below the mountaine.

And now began the conflict, for the winning and defending of that old Castle; which proved a medlye of 10 houres long, on both sides. Many a brave Gentleman, here lost his life; many a Cavalier was here wounded: and not a few taken prisoners. The King led on his men, with his sword drawne in his hand: and the *Swedish*, as if to show the enemy how little they dreaded any thing, that they could doe unto them; and how much they despised danger: exposed themselves, all naked, unto the enemies shot; having not so much as any one Trench or Earth cast up, to shelter them. In this equipage, runne they close unto the enemies Works and Batteries: stoutly and manfully, fall they on upon them: and with the courage of undaunted spirits, doe they rush into the danger. But the Imperialists as full of resolution, made a most stout resistance unto the *Swedish*. For having the advantage, both of the higher ground, of their owne Trenches and Batteries, already before hand there cast up: and having the wals of the old Castle to retreat unto, and to shelter their fresh supplies in: they maintained it with extremitie of confidence. The naturall high standing of the place, gave them all

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the advantages, that the providence of an enemy could have fore-thought of. Thence directed they their peeces with more ayme and certaintie, thence fell the Partisans which they darted, with more weight upon the *Swedish*: and behind their owne *Parapets* they stood more then halfe covered, from those on the lower ground: so that more of the *Swedish* bullets, light upon the Imperialists *Brest-works* then into their *Breasts*.

But notwithstanding all these inconveniences, the *Swedish* continued desperate, and the Imperialists as obstinate. The Cannons and Muskets went off all day long, incessantly: so that nothing was to be seene upon the Mountaine, but flame and smoake: and for the roaring of the Ordnance, the skrikes and groanings of wounded and dying man, could hardly be discerned. All this was performed with so much terrour and fury, and on both sides maintained with so much obstinacy: that (considering the disadvantages on the *Swedish* side) the Bartels of *Prague* or *Leipsich*, were not to be compared to it. Regiment attacked Regiment, one Ensigne continued flying against another: untill the greater part of the Foot on both sides, were thoroughly engaged in the medlye. The Imperialists had 6000 men, then upon the Hill; for the guard of it, and of the old Castle: those, still supplied from the Campe: and all, so fenced with a *Brest-works*, behind which they stood to shoote downe: that nothing but their heads could be seene over it. Thus at length, the *Swedes* seeing no good to be done upon it; were enforced to quit the danger: the most of them withdrawing themselves, unto the foot of the Mountaine. The Cannon continued their volleys above, still; and some Muskettiers were there left, to maintaine the skirmish.

In this attempt upon the hill, whereas the King and Duke *Bernard* had salne on upon severall places of it: it chanced that Duke *Bernards* proved far the more convenient: and that he had gotten the height of the enemies Campe, and could see downe into it. He sending the King word of it, His Majesty dispatched

dispatched backe Sir *Iohn Hepburn* to him, to take, and bring a view of it. Whilest Duke *Bernard* and Sir *Iohn Hepburn* were at their view; there was a Ritt-master shot dead, hard, by them: which shewed, that the place was not altogether so safe, as was hoped. Sir *Iohn Hepburn* having carryed the King word, that it was much the better place; His Majestie himselve came to see it. Which done, you have reason (sayes hee to Sir *Iohn*) for what you say: but yet if I give on here, I must doe it with my grosse of Foot; whereby I shall leave my Horse and my Cannon naked: and the enemy, withall, may then choose where he will fight with mee; either in this or that place, or in both together, as he pleases. This passage, I learned from the right valiant Knight, here mentioned: and that the presentnesse of the Kings iudgement, was approoved in it. And this I adde of my selfe; something to controll the rumour of it that ranne over *Germany*, that if the King would but have descended from his obstinacy, and thought it no dishonour to give over at the t'other Post, and to follow Duke *Bernards* counsell; that the action had bene then ended, and the enemy dislodged.

Most of the *Swedes* being comne downe to the plaine (as is aforesaid) there began another encounter. The enemies Curiaffiers then issuing out upon the *Swedish* Muskettiers, did so much there overlay them; that they forced them to give ground from them. Colonell *Torsonson*, and Colonell *Erich-Hand*; being to maintaine this Post; were both here taken; and the latter wounded, by the Curiaffiers; whilest they bravely endeavoured to make their Muskettiers to give on againe, upon the enemy. The valiant Baron of *Cronenberg* with his Regiment of 120 Cornets of Horse (esteemed the flower of the Army) at that time, falling out, was rencountred by Colonel * *Stolhaufse* with 200 of his *Finnish* Horsemen: who so well entertained the *Cronbergers*, that they put them to the rowta: yea, and so faire pursued them, till they came under the command of the Shot from the enemies main-

* This Colonell *Stolhaufse*, (a *Finlander* by nation) was sometimes servant unto Sir *Patrick Ruthven*: and hee speaks excellent good *piers English*.

The Swedish Intelligencer.

piers, and that other troopes of fresh Horfe, sallied out upon them. It was beleevd among the *Swedish*, that *Cronenberg* was there mortally wounded: but besides, that I have since read of him in other actions; he was seene by some Gentlemen of our owne Nation in the Imperiall Leaguer, a day or two after.

It hath by others beene related to mee, That whereas the Count of *Erpach* (a Colonell of the Kings) was that day mortally wounded upon the place, and carryed off spoyled; the King meeting Sir *Iohn Hepburn* in the Field: desired him to make good the Count of *Erpachs* Post; which hee performed.

The night beginning now to approach, must of necessitie put an end to that skirmish: and yet it appeared by the eagerness of the *Swedish*, that they had not yet enough of it. Still they continued to ply their small and great shot, and to offer to skale the mountaine, and rampiers of the enemies: The same resoluteness, was also maintained by the Imperialists: the defendants budging not a foot from their Stations, and nothing behind hand with the Assailants. But that great Moderator and Sticler in all long encounters, (the Night) was faine at last to decide the controversie. And so began both sides, to fall off one from another, having lost their fights, rather than their courages. And thus was there a true drawne Battell made of it: for the darkness being but a blind *Vampire*, could not see to which party, to assigne the Victory. The *Swedes*, indeed, lost their hopes; and the Imperialists kept their ground. The *Swedish*, for all their magnanimous undertakings, could not drive the Imperialists to the retreat; or beate up their Quarters: nor could they, much lesse, compell the Kings forces to give it over. The Horfe, (except, some few troopes) could not come to fight; the wood and hill not suffering them to encounter: which had they done, needs must the businesse have had a further progresse.

The whole night after, did those Muskettiers that were left upon the hill, continue to give fire upon those that defended

ded the old Castle. It proved a very wet night: and the King lay in his Coach, under heavens open Canopy. There was a fire made hard by him, upon the wet earth; (which the raine suffered not well to burne) about which the Kings servants and Officers, tooke up souldiers lodgings: Sir *Iohn Hepburn* being also laid amongst them. The King by breake of day wakening, (and being very cold and wet) called unto his servants, to know if there were any of his Officers of the Field amongst them. They told him none but Sir *Iohn Hepburn*; who was but a Voluntier at that present. Him, now, the King desired to goe to those Muskettiers on the hill, and to view their posture: and to see, withall, whether there might be any neere place discovered, where there might be Ordnance planted to batter upon the old Castle. He going, found how these poore soules, lay all open to the enemies shot, from the wast upwards; and that the Imperialists had two places of Covert, one above another, for their shelter: that is to say, one above, upon the hill, and another *Parapett* or *Brest-worke*, lower; whence they let flie upon the *Swedish*. He there found, where by casting up a litle earth, the Kings people might approach within fiftie paces of the Castle, and mount foure peeces of Cannon to batter upon it.

Sir *Iohn Hepburn* had order also at his going from the King, to go call Duke *Bernard* to him; and in the mean time to command his troopes. Hee comming from his view, met Duke *Bernard*, and did his message to him: who told him, that he should not need to goe to his troopes, for that he had left them with the Count of *Isenburg*. The Duke also requested of Sir *Iohn*, that whilest he went to the King, he would doe him the fauour to goe and bring his brother Duke *William*, unto his Maiestie. But Duke *William* was gone to the King before; so that when Sir *Iohn Hepburn* returned to the Coach, he perceiued, that they with some great personages, having beene in counsell together, Whither it were best to retreat or not? the Retreat had beene agreed upon. Thus when Sir *Iohn Hepburn* reported to the King, how neere to

the Castle he might bring foure Canons: I had rather (saies the King), there could have beene a place found within 300. paces, then within 50: which would be safer for my people. Hereupon was order given for the retreat, and to draw off the Muskettiers, who came running off presently. And thus much of the passages of this morning, have I learned from the courtesie of this Noble Warriour. The most of the rest had I out of a long *Latine* Letter, written by the Baron * of *Dudroff*, then present in the action: & from a *High Dutch Relation*, written by an vnderstanding Officer of the Army.

* The Letter was written unto his Brother Sir *Benedict Skute*, then in *London*: who imparted it unto me. They are Sonnes unto the Lord *Skute*, Governour of *Lavonia* for the Crown of *Sweden*: three times Ambassadour into *England*.

And indeed it was high time for the King to *found the retreat*: and much better had it beene, that a *Charge* had never beene founded. It was almost an impossible thing, to get up that mountaine: and Sir *John Hepburn* (amongst others) freely advised the King the day before, That the action was not faisible. And by this time it was made much harder. The Imperialists against this morning, had brought on more great Peeeces upon their Batteries: which must sorely have disordered the *Swedish*, in their advancing. The mountaine, Castle, and Fort, were all by this time better'd mann'd then the day before: and the Imperialists being extreaimely encouraged, that the irresistible *Swedish* Armies, had not already overcome them, were sufficiently now provided to entertaine them. But the King having attempted thus much, chiefly to put a *Brave* upon *Walenslein*: began now to thinke of the mens lives, that were to be cast away upon it. So that having experience by this time, that the enemy being likely to dispute it, would certainly kill and spoile him more men, then possibly hee could doe of theirs: thought it no great wisdom, to consume too much time, where there was but small appearance of getting over-much honour.

Order is therefore given, to have the Ordnance taken off their Batteries, and that the Muskettiers, yet in action, as also those that had beene laid in ambush, below the hill: together with those Horse-troopes, which stood ready at all assayes, to waite upon the motions of the enemy, should come away.

And

And this was the order of the *Retreat*. The *Rear* marcht off, first of all: and whilst they turne faces about to goe homewards, the *Van* and *Buttell* stood their ground, as ready to receive the enemy. When the *Rear* was come to their place of *Stand*; they there made *Halt*, facing about againe to the enemy. Whilst they stood, the *Buttell* march'd: observing in all points, the order and discipline of the *Rear*. When they make a *Stand*, the *Van* advances: the *Wing* of Horse, afore spoken of, at the same time moving and flanking them. Three hundred Muskettiers, with some Cornets of Horse, were left behind to *manue* the *Rear*, and to make good the *Retreat*: in case the enemy (which he did not) should have false out upon them. And in this goodly order and equipage, (which was a very beautifull sight to behold) was the *Retreat* made: all done in *Battaglia*, as if they had even then advanced into the *Field*, to have charged the enemy. Soone was the Army in their new *Quarters*, which were not farre from the foresaid mountaine.

The order of
the Retreat.

For now was the King resolv'd, to entrench himselfe close unto the enemy; choosing the place for his new Leaguer, neere unto *Furs*, iust without the Forrest: yea so neere unto *Walensteins* trenches, that some one of his greater Peeces, would have rang'd her bullet even to the very *Quarter*. Early the next morning *August* 26. was the new Campe begunne to be fortified; that is, upon the open side of it: the back-part being sufficiently assured by the woods. And now might the *Generalissimo* (if he pleas'd) have done as much for the King, as he had attempted upon his trenches. These had bene his advantages. His Leaguer was already fortified: but the Kings Works not perfected, for some dayes after. Hee, out his higher ground, might overlooke the Kings *Quarters*, and see every motion in it. The Kings Campe was in a faire *Campagna*, and therefore accessible: nor was there any thing in the way, to have hindred the Imperialists; from falling in to the *Swedish* Leaguer.

The King en-
campeth hard
by the Imperi-
alists.

Two or three dayes after the end of the great rencounter,
were

were the prisoners and dead, on both sides, ransomed and exchanged. *Monsieur de La Grange* the French Ambassadoir, was sent from the King, into the enemies Leaguer: who returned with many prisoners: telling his Majesty of many things likewise, unto the hearing whereof but few were admitted. *Major-General Sparre* was not onely set at liberty by the King, but employed also by him unto *Walenstein*, with the prisoners. He made likewise some generall overtures of a peace: in which he had desired of the King, that he might use his owne liberty. In lieu of *Major Sparre*, was Colonel *Leonard Torsenson*, General of the Kings Artillery, set at liberty by the *Generalissimo*: and that with a great complement to the King; as we have before told you. As for Colonel *Erich-Hand* (a Swede) he was to stay in the Imperiall Leaguer, till his wounds were cured. In the Bill of the prisoners, that was sent from the Imperialists unto the King: were there many names read, whose persons were no where to be found among the Captives: by which they were given for dead.

The Prisoners,

dead,

and wounded
on the Kings
side.

In this former Action, were these men of account slaine on the Kings side. The Count of *Erpach*, who died of his wounds: *General-Major Boetius*, a brave man: and Lieftenant Colonel *Sceper*. Of Duke *Williams* men, slaine; Lieftenant-Colonell *Mackin*. Under the *Landgrave* of *Hessen*, slaine, Rit-master *Maurice* of *Malsburg*, with Rit-master *Craillsham*, brother to the Marshall of his Majesties Household. Of the *English* and *Scottish*, divers: whose names I have not.

Divers other Captaines, Lieftenants, Ensignes, and other inferior Officers, there lost their liues; with 7. or 800. common souldiers: none of whose bodies, fell into the hands of the enemies. There was found sticking in the body of one of his Majesties Guards, a bullet of three pound weight. Wounded on the Kings side, the Counts of *Eberstein*, *Cassel*, and *Thurne*: with *Erich-Hand*, *Rosstein* and *Bourr*, all Colonells: together with divers other Captaines, Rit-masters, and other Officers. Of common souldiers, were there

there some 1500. which were brought into the Hospitals of *Norimberg*.

On the Imperiall side, lost, 3 Ensignes. Slaine, the Lord *James Fugger*, Colonell of 1000. *Cavaliers*, or *Men at Armes*. This Lord being deadly wounded and brought prisoner into *Norimberg*; there expired. He being demanded what he knew of *Walensteins* intentions; answered (as some report it) that he meant to keepe himselfe in the guard hee then lay at, and to wage battell no otherwise then in that posture. But some other report this way of his last words, That calling for drinke, he should say t'is no time to dissemble now; *Walenstein* will assault you: Which said, he drank, and dyed. Said to be slaine besides, Colonell *Aldobrandino*, Colonell *Dom Mariade Caraffa*: with 5. Colonels more: though some Gentlemen of our Nation, passing next day thorow the Campe; affirmed that they spake with some of them. These things must bee knowne from the prisoners, who being about 60. in number, perchance knew not all: the Imperialists having wit enough to conceale their owne losses. Those of the *Swedish* side reported it from the prisoners, that there should have beene slaine about 1000. *Walsteiners*: which (upon such disadvantages in the fight) I thinke not to be likely. The Corps of the dead Lord *Fugger* being sent into the Imperiall Leaguer, the souldiers that carried him, had 25 Dollars given them.

My *Dutch Officer* reports me a pretty story of a complement (or an allegiance, rather) betwixt an humble bullet, and the K. namely, how that a piece of the sole of his Majesties boote, neere unto the great toe of his right foot, was carryed away with a Shot. This bullet knew his duty: for a King should be toucht no higher: all are to stoope thither. Both he and the *Swedish* Lords Letter agree, that the Imperiall *Generallissimo* had his Horse that day shot dead under him: whereas others (then in the action) bid me be confident, That *Walenstein* all that day, stirred not so farre out of his Pavillion. Sure it is, that Duke *Bernard* of *Saxon-Weymar* had a horse slaine under

under him: and that his behaviour all that fight, was beyond all expectation, vallant. *Walenstein* (tis written) having false notice brought him in the heate of the fight, that the old Castle was taken; answered with an oath, That hee would not beleve that there was a God in Heaven, if that Castle could possibly be taken from him. This the prisoners reported. And thus have I finished, this most memorable conflict. Turne we to other actions of lesse moment, done neere the Leaguer.

The King labouring to cut off *Walensteins* victuals,

sends out his Partees to *Weissenburg*,

and *Newmarckt*.

Walenstein in danger to be taken.

The King not able either to dislodge *Walenstein*, nor to bring him into *Campagna*: cast about, in the next place, how to put another Brave upon him: the same, too, that *Walenstein* first put upon him; to defeate him (namely) of his victuals. Having therefore learned by the prisoners, that the provisions for the Imperiall Leaguers, (since the burning of their Magazine of *Fryenstat*) were either brought from *Bavaria*; or from *Newmarckt* in the *Upper Palatinate*: resolves now to way-lay their convoyes, in both places. Towards *Bavaria*, is Colonell *Sperruter* sent: with 4000 or 5000 men, to lye in the wind about *Weissenburg*; and to have an eye towards *Nordlingen*; both to the South-West of *Weissenburg*. The King having now learned out, that there were a many Wagons of provision, about *Newmarckt* in the *Upper Palatinate*, 20 miles from *Norimberg*: thitherward, with all speede, dispatches he a strong Partee of 3000 Horse, for the cutting off of this Convoy; which hee had heard was presently to come into the Imperiall Leaguer. But the *Swedish* failed of their desire: *Walenstein* having taken good order, to have his Convoy well assured. Himselfe (tis reported) was gone out with some troopes: which the *Swedish* Partee encountering withall, missed but little of taking the *Germanissimo* himselfe prisoner. His Page was taken, hard by him; who reported, how that his Lord himselfe, was glad to retire into the wood. This report went over *Germany*: but yet I hold *Walenstein* with the wisest, to adventure so great a part of the world, in his owne person.

Now

Now were the warres, made altogether by commanded Partees: whose sending out, was chiefly to get victuals and forage for themselves; and to defeat one another of it. The *Crabats* were the onely men, for such a purpose; they acknowledge no 8th Commandment: for *Stealing*, is one of the great uses of them, in the Army. These *Crabats* being lodg'd in a Castle, some 7 or 8 miles from *Norimberg*: would familiarly latche you up, 2 or 300 Horses and Wagons in a day; and yet play halfe of it. These fellows, punisht the King shrewdly: nor could his men be ever wary enough of them. They flye out as farre as *Altorff*, a towne and *Univer- sity* of the *Norimbergers*, 15 *English* miles East of the Citie. Here light they upon the poore Schollers; and as well they might have rob'd the *Spittle: Agricola, Nester, and Bruno*, Professours there, they carryed away: and put poore *Genns* and *Species*, to their ranfome. Some Actions with the *Crabats*.

A little after this, did the King employ Lieftenant-Colo- nell *Cratzenstein* with some troopes of Cavallery, to lay out for these mad *Crabats*. *Cratzenstein* had advice brought him, that they were now out towards *Newmarcke*. Thither- ward makes he. Being come as farre as *Pelling*, within three *English* miles of *Newmarcke*, a knave-Boore of the Towne, (one of their Receivers) spurres *Cut*, and rides and tels the *Crabats* of it: who having a gift (they need no Spell for the matter) when they are like to be over-matcht, to make them- selves invisible, plaid now least in sight, and ranne away to- wards *Altorff*. After goes *Cratzenstein*, but thence were they gone also. Having in this towne rested his people, a- while, he advances towards *Castell*, a towne upon an hill with a rich Monastery at it, upon the river *Lauterach*, 12 or 13 *English* miles East of *Altorff*. Here lights he upon two reverend *Jesuites*, one of which, willing to save himselfe by getting out at a window, missed some footing or stayer of the ladder (it seemes) brake his necke with the fall: and so, *per saltum*, tooke his *Degrees backward*: the other *Father* (but of how many, is a *quare*) being carried to *Norimberg*:

became a ranfome for the Professors of *Athorff*. Hard by *Castell*, but neerer to *Pfaffenhoven*: is there a pretty Castle, where a Cornet of *Crabats* were enquartered. *Craizenstein* now forcing the place, cuts most of the *Crabats* in pieces; carried away their Lieutenant-Colonell with the House-keeper of the Castle, prisoners: setting divers of the Kings souldiers at liberty; which the *Crabats* there held in durance. This done, *Craizenstein* returns to *Norimberg*, with his booty and his prisoners.

All this succeeded well to him; the next encounter, he came not off with, so fairely. Fleshed with this success, he would needs out againe towards *Sultzbach*, thirtie *Englisch* miles East of *Norimberg*. Encountring with no prize in that desolated cuntry: to *Hambach* he goes hard by *Amberg*, three or foure miles more to the Eastward. The foremost of his people, there fell into an ambush of the *Walsteiners*: who not discovering themselves all at once, put the *Swedish* in such hopes of being strong enough for them; that they engaged themselves to buckle with them. Nor could they see their error, till it was too late to recover it: for there lost they 80 of their fellowes; and he was the bravest man, that would runne away to tell his Lieutenant-Colonel.

Divers skirmishes, among commanded Partees.

In other places at the same time, were the Forages out on both sides. A *Swedish* Partee, ranging towards *Newmarcke*, chanc't upō a Cornets of *Crabats* of about 150 in the woody country betwixt *Rotenbach* and *Fench*, 7 or 8 miles South of *Norimberg*. Falling roundly to it; the *Crabats* lost the odde 50. upon the place; and some of the rest were in their flight so knockt down by the Boores of the Country (whom these arrapt Powlterers, had made their good friends) that but a few of them recovered to their garrison of *Newmarcke*. The *Crabats* from out of the League about this time, stealing over the river of *Rednitz*; cut the throats of some *Swedish* Sentinels, about *Furt*: cut in pieces Captaine *Fuchs*, and his whole company, almost, which had the guard that night. At *Eybach*, one Dutch League South of *Norimberg*, there fell out.

out another skirmish: where after the exchange of some bullets, and the death of 40. men on both sides, the *Swedish* were faine to give it over: for that the Imperialists rettyring themselves by degrees, towards their owne Quar-
ters, (then close at hand) did but traine the *Swedish* into the danger.

A day or two after, the King himselfe would needs abroad, to discover the posture of the enemy: and it was much about the place of the last encounter. The King had some choise Lads, along with him; some of which scowring the coast before him, discovered by and by, a good Squadron of Imperiall Horfemen. The King bade charge; and the *Walstei-ners* made at them againe: so that there fell out some rude brushing betweene them. At last, every man of the *Swedish* being as good as two, where the King was one: the *Walsteiners* went by the worst of it: 150. men were laid dead upon the place; divers prisoners left behind them: and the rest ranne away as hastily towards their Leaguer, as if they did it to carry newes, that they had seene the King of *Sweden*.

The King goes
out upon a
Partee.

A little after this, a strong Partee of *Crabats*, cut short some *Swedish* Foragers; even as they had almost recovered to their Leaguer by *Furt*. 200. horses and Wagons, they took from them, and made the Foragers glad to goe home, without that, which they had laboured for. Thence goe the *Crabats* to *Lauff*. 2. leagues East of *Norimberg*: putting themselves there into ambush to entrap some *Swedish* Convoyes. It chanc't, that a good company of wagons and loden horses, passed by shortly after, from about *Rosenberg*. 4. miles to the North of *Lauff*. The *Crabats* falling out upon the Booty, cut in pieces both the Wagon-drivers, and their guard: and vouchsafing to turne Carters themselves, they drive the Wagons towards *Engelthal*. It hapned, that there were divers *Biders* or Saddle-horses, of some of the Kings owne Gentlemen, that went *hier*, by; now sent for from *grasse*, and comming towards the Leaguer with this Convoe, for that the King was about remooving.

The King de-
feates some
Crabats.

Gentlemen hearing, how likely they were to serve on foot; petitioned the King for a speciall Partee to make out after these *Crabats*, that had unhorsed them. The King himself would needs do his Gentlemen the service, to goe out with the Partee: who rightly guessing at their haunt; advances towards the same *Engelshalt*: whereabouts (as lucke was) he then found them. Here kills he 100. upon the place; recovers all the Wagons, and his mens horses: with some other pillage besides, which the *Crabats* had there hoarded vp, into the bargain.

The King having an item, a little after this, of 20. Corners of Imperiall horse, that purposed to goe from *Forcheim*, to spoyle *Gresenberg*, a towne of the *Norimbergers*, some 18. miles North of the City: goes with the King of *Bohemia*, to have a course at these Imperialists. But they having notice of it, had no desire to stay and kisse the 2. Kings hands: but recommended their safeties, to their spurres, and escaped by good Horleman-ship.

Walenstein gets
Leichtenaw.

The King presently upon this, had a designe, to have put Duke *Bernard*, with a good part of his, and *Baniers* Army; into, and about the towne of *Lieltkenaw*, (not farre from *Onspach*) which belonged unto the *Norimbergers*. *Walenstein*, (as we told you in the beginning) had offered before at the taking of this towne; but had beene put besides it. It was kept by one *Scheverlin*, a *Patrician* or City-Gentleman of *Norimberg*. His feare now fore-dooming, that because the King had not beene able to dislodge *Walenstein*, that therefore hee was too weake for him: delivers over his trust unto the enemies of his Country; when as no apparent, but a suspected necessity, drew it from him. The losse of this towne and *Passe*, shrewdly defeated the Kings projects: helpt to make him, what *Scheverlin* had suspected him; the unabler to remoove *Walenstein*. For now, besides the victuals found in the towne; *Walensteins* other provisions out of those parts, came the freelyer into his Leaguer: the most of which, the King might have cut off, could he but haue formed an Army thereabouts.

Other

Other smaller bickerings betweene commanded Partees of both Armies, I purposely omit: for that these petty particulars, doe lesse concerne a generall history. And now the King perceiving that all these slighter encounters, would not doe the great businesse; and that it now proved true, which had so often beene confessed to him: namely, that *Walenstein* most firmly was with himselfe resolved, to tyre him out with the expectation of a Battell; and that he would upon no other termes accept of the encounter, then such as with extremity of disadvantage, hee should be enforced unto: judges it his best course, to leave the sullen or temporising Generall, in the fastnesse of his Trenches, seeing he would not be trained unto a Field-Battell. For point of action and honour, the King conceived himselfe to be before-hand with his adversary: seeing he had so often bidden him bafe at his owne goale; and that the Lyon-couchant would not out of his Denne, no further then he were rowfed. Carefull, besides this, of the State of the good City of *Norimberg*, his Maiesty was: which his late encreased Army had over-charged: his sicke men, and dead horses, both pestered and infected. His owne Army began a-pace likewise, to diminish: he had lost (at least) 10. or 12000. horses, (I have heard more) the rest, for want of forage being likely enough to follow. His men, withall, grew thinner every day and thinner: for what with those that had beene slaine with the sword, or dead of the fluxe and other diseases; and what with those that were wounded, taken prisoners, or had runne away, he missed full 10000. of his old Army. His Quarters grew very nastie and noysome, with the multitudes of dead horses, which lay where they fell, vnburied. The rest of his Army, wanted aying and refreshing: no enemy being so terrible to brave spirits, or so weakening to able bodies, as the long lying in one place, and the ordinary diseases, of a Winter-Leaguer. Resolved likewise he was, to doe as much for the Imperialists, as they had done for him: to cut off, namely, their provisions from them: and that part of it, especially

The Kings reasons for his rising from about *Norimberg*

especially, with which their Leaguer had beene served, out of the Bishopricke of *Aichstet*. His Partees hee resolved should flie abroad, every where, for the same purpose: his Army he was minded to encrease, with new levies: and with them, to fall into some of the Emperors or *Catholike-Leaguers* lands; and so to force up *Walenstein*, by a diversion.

Some have disputed it with themselves, Whither the King should not have done better for himselfe, to have risen long before this? so soone, namely, as he was made able to get away, by the coming of the Chancellor to him with the other Armies. Then surely, had he saved a great sort of men and horses; and sooner had He gone, sooner must the *Generalissimo* have dislodged.

When the matter was put to be decided upon a Carpet, Whither it were best for the King to rise or no? The chiefe hinderance of the resolution was, the Kings care for the safetie of the *Norimbergers*: who were indeed very fearefull of themselves, that so soone as He were gone, they should be besieged. But in that care, the King was eased by his Major *Kniphausen*: who offered it upon the forfeiture of his head, to keepe the towne with 4000. men, in despight of all the enemies. The King taking him at his word, sent him into the towne to propose the conditions unto the Magistrates, and to know what they would do in it. The conditions were, That they should give Quarter and stipends, unto the Souldiours, left for the guard of them: That they should take downe the old great Leaguer, and contract it; so as with 4000. men, it might be made defensible. The Magistrates, though something fearefull, at first; yet so well did *Kniphausen*'s arguments content them, that they came out to treat with the King about it. He told them, that they might safely relye upon *Kniphausen*, he had, upon his knowledge, fought in a village: and he knew he would doe much more, in so well a fortified City. His Maiesty, besides, told them, That he would leave his Chancellor with them: whose person hee would not adventure, but upon a place that he put confidence

How the King
contented the
Norimbergers,
concerning his
rising.

dence in. As for besieging of their towne, that (he assured them) was not at all to be feared: the enemy, he knew, was too wise, at that time of yeere to set him downe before such a towne; and especially in the neerenesse of a royall Army, which had so often fought to fight with him. These arguments, and the seale of the Kings royall word to them; passed for securitie with the Burgers. And so the rising was concluded upon: and two dayes before, order given for it: whereupon the sicke and wounded men were sent into *Norimberg*: where a many sicke could not be relieved, but starved in the streets.

The next day to this, was the seventh of *September*; the famous Anniverary of the great victory of *Leipsich*: which was ordered to be kept *Festivall* by most solemne *Thanksgivings*, both within the Citie and in the Kings Leaguer. The seventh of September kept Holy-day.

The piety of the day being over-passed, and Generall-Major *Kniphausen* having 3000. men (in stead of 4000.) left with him for the defence of the Trenches and *Norimberg*: *Labelfinger* being the ancient Colonel of the City forces; and Colonell *Stammersdorff* put into him: the King resolveth upon dislodging. Before his rising, I read that hee sent out Duke *Bernard*, to take in *Schwabach*, 8 miles South of *Norimberg*: both to give the *Norimbergers* a little more aire, and something withall, to trouble *Walensteins* Convoyes out of the Bishopricke of *Aichstet*. Some talke of *Rot* and *Carlsburg*, and other townes, then likewise taken about *Norimberg*: but I cannot perceive, why the King should trouble himselfe in taking in these small *Strengths*; seeing He most certainly concluded, that *Walenstein* would not lye long after His going. This of *Rot* and *Schwabach* I have but out of *Le Soldat Suedois*; whom singly, I credit not.

Saturday *September* 8th. the Kings Army dislodgeth. The King marcheth by, and almost round about, the Imperial Leaguer, in faire order of Battell: with Colours flying, Drummes beating, and every way as if they had beene ready for the encounter. And *Walenstein* knew, as well as themselves, what

H

the

and arrives at
Neustat.

* So called for
distinctions
sake; for that
there is another
Neustat in this
Franconia, upon
the river *Stray*,
hard by *Königs-
hausen*.

the Royalists were now about: this was the day, that he had long look't for. So farre therefore, was he from disturbing of them, that he called in his owne Guards and Sentinels; and still kept himselfe within his Trenches. That night, lay the Kings Army at a small Dorp: and the next day *September 9th*, with safety arrived at *Neustat* upon the * *Aisch* in the Marquisate of *Onspach*, 20 *English* miles to the North-West of *Norimberg*. Here lay the whole Army, *September 13* on which, the King removes it from *Neustat*, unto *Winshaim*, upon the same river of *Aisch*, 14 miles South of *Neustat*.

About this time, came the Deputies of *Frankford* unto the King: of whom hee now borrowed a great summe of money. In security hereof, his Majesty then empawned the Palace and Revenues, sometimes belonging unto the Master of the *Dutch Order*: which (as wee told you Page 20 of our *Second Part*) lye in and about *Mergentheim* upon the river *Tauber* in *Franconia*. Hither also came the Ambassadors of the *Muskovite* and *Tartarians*: to offer the King their assistance to fall into *Polonia*: which he refused.

Here at *Winshaim*, the King getting notice of *Walensteins* being gone towards *Forcheim* upon the river *Main*; and of the Duke of *Bavariaes* keeping still with him: he layes the plot how either to divide the two Armies, or how to divert the seat of the warres, out of *Franconia* into *Bavaria*. For the King now iudging by their keeping together, that their plot was to see what He would doe: hee resolved to begin first; and either to make a division, or a diversion. Two designs he might suspect that *Walenstein* now had: either to fall upon the townes of *Franconia*, which the King last yeere had conquered: or else to rush into the Duke of *Saxonyes* country, which He well knew, that *Walenstein* had vowed the spoyling of.

The King de-
vides his Ar-
my.

For the prevention of both these, hee resolves upon the deviding of his owne Army: some whereof he would leave with Duke *Bernard* in *Franconia*, to observe *Walenstein*, and to guard the *Main-framme* from him: and with the other halfe

halfe, himfelfe refolved to march up into *Bavaria*. Thefe Regiments, I am told, the King tooke along with him. Horfe Regiments. 1. *Oem's* Regiment. 2. *Corvile's*. 3. *Stolhanfs's*. 4. *Steinbocks*: 5. *Tyfenhaufens*: with fome others that are in the Figure of the Battell of *Lutzen*; and were not with Duke *Bernard*. Thefe might make fome 3000 Horfe: befides which, he had 300 of *Steinbocks* Dragoones: which Dragoones ufed now and then to ride with him, for the ufual Guards of his Body. Of Foot-Regiments, thefe waited on him. Firft, Count *Neeles* with the *Life-guards*, 2. *Carl Harts* Regiment. 3. *Winckles*. All thefe, came alfo backe with him: befides which, there likewife went up fome others, whom the King left in the Country, under the *Palatine Chriftian of Birckenfelt*: whole names I have not. With Duke *Bernard*, hee might leave about fome 10. or 12000.

and whileft
part of them
goe towards
Bavaria:

Thofe that He purpofed for *Bavaria*; September 15. were fent Southward towards *Rotenburg*: himfelfe alfo purpofing to have gone along with them. This thought of His, was by a message from *Norimberg*, thus diverted. His Chancellour *Oxenfiern* fending him newes, of *Gallas* his befieging of *Lauff* with a Partee of 2000. men, and fome 3 or 4 peeces of Ordnance: He refolves to relieve the Towne and coape with *Gallas*, if he would ftay for him. Taking therefore 3000. well mounted horfe, and 1500. Muskettiers along with him, (which were all commanded men, and chofen out of the whole Army) he goes with thefe towards *Norimberg*. Being come neere unto *Furt*, His Majefty was there met by Chancellour *Oxenfiern*, and Major-Generall *Kniphaufen*, who inform'd him, that *Lauff* was already taken, and *Gallas* gone towards *Voitland* and *Bohemia*. The King, upon this newes, ftaying but one houre there, for the refrefhing of his people; returned with all diligence, backe towards *Osnabach*; and fo onwards to the reft of his Army, whom hee over-tooke at *Dunkelfpiel*, in the way towards *Donawert*, and *Bavaria*.

Himfelfe goes
towards *No-
rimberg*.

Presently tur-
ning backe, to
overtake his
Army.

Some *Switzers*
come to ayde
the King.

At this *Dunkelspiel*, which is sixe leagues to the South of *Rotenburg*, did the mainebody of his Army arrive, Friday *September 21*. His next Stage was at *Nordlingen*, 4 leagues further: where *Tilly*, last yeere, made his Winter-Quarter. Hither came he upon Saturday *September 22*. The weeke before, had 4000. or 5000. *Switzers* (12000 some name) passed by this way towards *Donawert*, to be there conjoynd to the Kings Army. They were led by Colonell *Wormbrunn*: and their way was from *Schaffhausen* and *Dutling*, and so along the *Danuby*.

Monte-Cuculi
takes *Rain* in
Bavaria.

By this time had the Count *de Monte Cuculi*, with some of the Duke of *Bavariaes* people, (whom he found in the countrey) and some few *Florentines*, (lately sent in from their Master the great Duke of *Tuskany*, to the ayde of the *Bavarian*) laid siege to the towne of *Rain* upon the *Lech* in *Bavaria*, neere *Donawert*. Colonell *Mitzval*, whom the King had left Governour there; made not such good resistance, as was requisite. The towne, though not excellently, yet was it sufficiently fortified. Victuals and Ammunition, he wanted not: of men, he had 13 good Companies, Horse and Foote: which were hands enough to have made good the place, for a longer time, against a farre greater opposition. I read of no breach yet made; but one threatned, and prepared for, is not unlikely. Some write, that *Mitzval* was in the name of his Company, threatned by one of his Ancients, that if he would not yeeld the towne, they would: but they that say so, cannot proove that *Mitzval* either punisht Ancient or souldiers, for the mutinie. Others affirme, that he had the consent of a Counsell of Warre, of all the Officers of his garrison for it: which had it beene true, then would not the King have executed him for it. However, *September 25*. did *Mitzval* conclude upon rendring, the next day marching out with Bag and Baggage, and all good conditions for a souldier, though not of one. The King tooke off his head for it: and so would he have done of all the 8 Captaines of his Regiment, but that her Majesty the Queene of *Sweden* (who

(who was comne all this expedition with her Lord) by the potency of a sweet and gracious intercession, prevailed with the King for a pardon for them.

The King now comne to *Donauwert*, made all the hast possible, to relieve his towne and garrison in it, from *Monte-Cuculi*: but was not able to take it on the sudden, for that the Towne was on the contrary side of the *Lech* to him. And it much concern'd him: for that by the taking of this towne, the Partees of Horfe that should be lodged in it, would mightily disturbe the trading and other intercourse, betwixt *Ausburg* and *Norimberg*. Preparing, therefore, to recover it; hee advances towards *Oberendorff* upon the *Lech* (hard by *Rain*) where there is a house or Castle of the *Fuggers*: neere which, there was a bridge over the *Lech*, as Page 139. of our *Second Part*, we have told you.

This Castle, was guarded with 150 men: and for the breaking of the bridge on that side next unto the King, were there some 250. *Crabats* now comne. These the King comming upon after they had burnt the bridge, but before they could get to *Rain* againe (where they should have bene taken over) he cuts the throats of all the 250 *Crabats*, together with the other 150. that were the guards of the Castle, and tooke seven Ensignes from them. Hereupon fell he to repairing the bridge. About the 27th. of *September*, was this done, and the Bridge-worke begun upon: which (strange it is) that *Monte-Cuculi* did little or nothing in the hinderance of. He was skared, perchance, by that wonderfull passage over the same *Lech*, which, the *April* before, the King had made: and how dearely it had cost *Tilly* to oppose it. He was now also taken off, by the distrust to his owne strength; and made, I beleeve, the more hast to looke to *Ingolstat* and *Regensburg*, and to stay thereabouts for the Duke of *Bavariaes* comming, which was within 8. or 10. dayes after.

The King being, the second time, passed over the *Lech*: in a misty morning (one of the first dayes of *October*) comes before *Rain*, ere perchance he was discovered. The fight of

The King over-
throwes 400.
Crabats, &c.

and layes a
Bridge over
the *Lech*.

and besieges
Rain.

Rain yielded
to the King.

The King go-
ing as farre as
Newburg, to
pursue Monte-
Cuculi.

the towne, is low and plaine: on one side, fenced with the river and morassy hollow ground, not fit to be entrenched on. The other part, had the King, at his last parting from *Bavaria*, given order unto *Mitzvall*, to new fortifie. This is the East side of the towne; and upon that, was the King faine to make his Approaches. Foure hundred men, had *Monte-Cuculi* left within it: who, either for that *Mitzvall* had made the place heartlesse and unlucky; or for that the fame and fortune of the King, were so irresistable in *Bavaria*, as that it were but folly to stand out against him: they within two dayes, so soone as ever they had felt but a few peeces of Battery: send out to demand composition. But the King being angred for his *Mitzvalls* late disgrace, would afford no other termes unto the garrison, but for the Horsemen to goe out without either Horse or harnesse, and the Foot, like footmen; without other Armes, then their swords onely.

And thus was the towne as easily recovered, as it had beene lost: saving that the defendants, this last time, had the honour to be overcome by the King of *Sweden*. October the fift, the King caused *Mitzvall*, by a Councell of Warre to be condemned; and the same day, in sight of the whole Army to be executed: establishing another Governour within the towne; who needed no other schooling to looke better to his Lesson, then to see his Predecessour ryde the scaffold before him. This was done at *Newburg*, some ten or eleuen miles Eastward upon the *Danuby*: whither the King had by this fifth of October, retired with his Army. Thus farre was the King comne, to have pursued *Monte-Cuculi*; and (as 'twas beleev'd) to have besieged *Ingolstat*. But *Monte-Cuculi* finding himselfe too weake, was with his flying Army of 500 Horse, and 4000 Foot, retired along the *Danuby* unto *Regenspurg*. Some troopes of horse, had the King sent off after *Monte-Cuculi*; and the Countrey was full of noyse, of the intended siege of *Ingolstat*. Divers peeces of Ordnance, were for that purpose already sent for out of *Ausburg* and *Donawert*, the Kings Commissaries and Quarter-

Quarter-masters, were already gone before that way-ward, to take up victuals and lodgings for the Army. Boats and other materials, were providing at *Newburg* to be sent downe the *Danubius* towards *Ingolstat*, to make Bridges. Provisions were also commanded to be ready at *Ulm*, for the victualling of the Leaguer: and young *Tilly* with his garrison of *Ingolstat*, (sorely of late, wasted with the pestilence) every day expected another plague of warres, to be coming towards him. Nor were these preparations, onely whisper'd of: but Art, perchance, made the rumour ring so much the louder, that *Walenstein* might likewise heare of it. But he either did not, or would not listen to it: nor could any noise from *Bavaria*, frighten him out of *Saxony*.

About these preparations, here at *Newburg*, was the King, till the eighth of *October*: and was the next day provided for, to have beene personally entertained in the City of *Ausburg*. But this happineſſe of his Presence, the *Ausburgers* were defeated of: the King, the same day, being gone with all speed backe to *Nordlingen*.

The cause of this so sudden departure of his Majesty; was an expresse Packet that night received from his Chancellor: that *Walenstein* having quit *Franconia*, was now falling into *Voitland*, to undoe the Duke of *Saxony*. The King, therefore, knowing how earnestly the *Electors* had heretofore been pressed by Ambassages; feared, perchance, least the power of a vowed enemy, might by adding violence unto perswasion, shrewdly prevaile to draw him off from the party: now resolved to quit his former purposes for *Bavaria*, and to make hast with all speed, to deliver *Saxony*. And in this was the difference of tempers and good dispositions, betwixt the King and our *Generalissimo*, to be discovered. The King was first in *Bavaria*, and yet would not the Duke of *Fridland* for his friends sake, doe more then lend him his *Altringer*, with his, and *Coloredoes* Regiments; for the defence of his Country: but himſelfe would not a foot out of his pace and march, for him. But the King, for his friend, on the

is diverted by the newes of *Walensteins* falling into *Voitland*.

other

other side; was not difficult to leave his former conquests in *Bavaria*, to the hazard of the now returning Duke, and to adventure his life to save *Saxony*. And yet, (to deale with the ingenuity of an *Historian*) there was something else in it too: for that *Walstein* by falling into *Misnia*, put faire for it, to have cut off the King, both from his friends in *Mecklenburg*, *Brandenburg*, and *Pomerania*; and from his retreat out of *Germany*.

whereupon, leaving 12000. men in *Bavaria*, with the *Palatine Birckenfeldt*.

The King, therefore, now leaving as many of those *Switzers* that were newly comne to him; and of some new levied Forces: besides so many of those which himfelfe had lately brought up with him, as would make up those already in *Bavaria*, 12000. men Horse and Foot, under the command of the *Palatine Christian of Birckenfeldt*, for the guard of *Bavaria*: himfelfe with the rest, goes backe againe towards *Norimberg*. Sir *Patrick Ruthven* Governour of *Ulm*, was now made Sergeant-Major-Generall unto *Birckenfeldt*, and Colonell *Strieff*, was constituted Lieutenant-Generall of the Horse to him. *Ausburg*, *Rain*, and *Donawert*, were left well provided: and so tooke the King his last leave of *Bavaria*.

he returnes with the rest towards *Norimberg*.

His Majesty now leaving 17 Cornets of Horse, and all his three Regiments of Foot, to follow fairely after him: himfelfe with a guard onely of some *Germane* Horse, and *Steinbocks* 300. Dragooners, made all the hast he could, backe againe unto *Norimberg*.

Kniphausen besieges *Lauff*.

Whilest the King was upon his way to *Norimberg*, had the Generall Major *Kniphausen*, besieged *Lauff*: which the King (we told you) before his going to *Bavaria*, was on the way to have reskewed. *Kniphausen* had 1600. Foot, and 200. *Norimbergers* Horse, with two peeces of Ordnance, before the towne; and two dayes had he besieged it, before the Kings comming had beene heard of. The third day, by a breach made with his two peeces, he tooke the towne: the garrison in it, retiring themfelues into the Castle. Betwixt the towne and the Castle, was there a Bridge; which for hast they

they could not stay to burne or breake : but had onely torne up some of the joyes and timbers, and so left it. *Kniphausen* men making shift to passe this bridge, came to a little gate of the Castle : which offering to force open ; the garrison presently yeelded up, without any other conditions, then at mercy. The Governour (a *Bohemian* by nation, and but Lieutenant-Captaine to a troope of Horse) remained prisoner ; with some 80. or 100. more of his souldiers : all which were afterwards carried prisoners unto *Norimberg*.

Kniphausen now in possession of the Castle ; 7. *Bavarian* Horsemen (not knowing of it) came that night on the land-side, to the backe gate of the Castle, to give notice of Colonell *Munichs* comming with 12. troopes or 1000. Horse, and 300. Dragooners, to the reliefe of it : desiring to speake with the Governour, and to advise him to hold out the Castle. The *Swedish* Sentinell that tooke their message, had the wit to conceale the Castles being taken, and to goe and tell *Kniphausen* of it. *Kniphausen* presently sent the late Governour to these 7. Horsemen : by some trickes, or other, to get them into the Castle. The Governour being afraid to be hang'd, as his Predecessour the *Norimbergers* Governour had beene, when *Gallas* tooke the Castle : durst not but doe his best to ingratiate himselfe with *Kniphausen*, and did indeed entice 3. of the 7. into the Castle. *Kniphausen* learning by these, of the *Bavarian* succours now comming to relieve the place ; had a plot also how to have gotten Colonell *Munich* himselfe into the pitfall. This was his stratageme. Hee causes some out of the Towne, to give false fire, all the night, against the Castle : and others out of the Castle, against them againe ; as if they had beene still in skirmish. T was 10. a clocke next morning, ere *Munich* came, by which time having notice of the taking of the Castle, hee did but shew himselfe before it : after an houre retyring himselfe backe againe. Hee being gone, *Kniphausen* returned unto *Norimberg*.

A pretty Stratageme.

The day of the taking of the Castle, (which was Fryday

I

October,

The King being returned to *Norimberg*,

goes out upon a ParTEE:

and leaving *Kniphausen* to take in *Herschbruck*:

himselfe surprises and defeats *Munich*, in his Quarters.

October 21.) did the King arrive at *Norimberg*: the very next day being desirous to goe out upon a ParTEE. His men were these 700 commanded Horse, and 300 Dragooners, led by Colonell *Steinbock* (a *Swede*) which had beene his guards hitherto, out of *Bavaria*. The King now going out, meets *Kniphausen* comming home; and of him hee learned, which way Colonell *Munich* was retired: which was first to *Herschbruck*, and so towards *Felden*. The King thereupon commanded *Kniphausen* to turne backe againe with him after the *Bavarians*: for (saies He) Ile not goe home againe without doing something. The Kings march lay by *Herschbruck*, a good walled towne of the *Norimbergers*, which *Gallas* had also taken in. There the King left *Kniphausen*, with his owne men and two peeces, to re prise it; which he did, within an houre after the Kings going.

The King pursuing *Munich* by the tracke; light upon some of his people, as they were resting themselves at *Schlusien*, and another village, hard by *Felden*. Many of these were *Crabats*; whom the King had the killing of 300. upon the place; with the taking of some 2. Cornets, and divers prisoners. The King having caused the villages they were enquartered in, to be first surrownded, and then fired; had the knocking of them downe, as they start out to have escaped. Some Relations tell mee of 600. *Bavarians*, that should be enquartered in a village betwixt *Altselt* and *Eismansberg*, a little East of *Herschbruck*, who should have come out of *Reichelswang* Castle: and were of those that should have relieved *Lauff*. And these (tis said) the King at one a clocke at night falling upon; cut off a great many, tooke 50. prisoners of them; the rest saving themselves in *Rosenberg*. But I suppose both these, to have bin but one action; for that the taking of 2 Colours is mentioned in each of them: and then I am sure, the first relation is the truer; for that it was told me by a very understanding Gentleman, at the same time with *Kniphausen*, (and very familiar with him) in the Actions both of *Norimberg*, *Lauff* and *Herschbruck*. This done,

done, the King October 15. betwixt 5. and 6. in the evening, returned againe into *Norimberg*.

And thus the King having once againe cleered all the townes of the Iurisdiction of the *Norimbergers*, and unblockt the City: immediately resolves upon returning to the rest of his Army in *Franconia*, and so thorow *Duringen* into *Saxony*. And for that himselfe was likely to have more use of his forces against *Walenstein*, then any employment the *Norimbergers* had for them: he takes with him those 3. Foote-Regiments of *Kuiphausen*, *Gerstorff* and *Rosse*; which at his first going to *Neustat* hee had sent unto the City for their safeguards. These Regiments, with those other 3. that were following out of *Bavaria*, might make up some 6000. compleate: and about that number of Foote, had Duke *Bernard* in his Army. Both together, might make up some 6500. Horse. And this was the Kings whole strength, (and after the largest reckoning too) in the day of the great Battell of *Lutzen*.

So that having unblockt *Norimberg*.

The King October 17. taking his last leave of the *Norimbergers*, goes himselfe with *Steinbocks* old Convoy; to follow Duke *Bernards* Army: his owne men, both those that came out of *Bavaria*, and those that were now drawne out of *Norimberg*; following as fast as they could, after. October 19. the King came to *Kitzing* upon the *Mayn*, 40. English miles, to the North-West of *Norimberg*. Here his Queene then was; who thence went towards *Wurtsburg*: whence after a few daies, She came unto *Erfurt*: being gotten thither, before the Kings coming.

He goes towards Duke *Bernards* Army.

And here having mentioned Duke *Bernard* and his Army: let us now goe backe a little (in the meane time that the Kings owne Army is upon their march, this way-ward) to tell how he passed away the time, ever since the Kings going from him into *Bavaria*.

The King (as we told you) parted from him about *September 15*: who charge to Duke *Bernard* was, To observe the motions of the Imperiall *Generalissimo*; and well to guard

Duke *Bernards* Story, in the Kings absence.

the Imperiall towne of *Sebwinsfurt*, with all the rest upon the *Mayn-streame*, from him. For this purpose, had the King left him an Army of some 9000. or 10000 men: or at least, so many they were voyced for.

This young Duke, some dayes after the Kings going; remooves from *Winshaim* first of all, unto *Kitzing* upon the *Mayn*: where he staid 6. or 7. dayes. That is, towards the very end of *September*. Thence advances he to *Wurtsburg*; where the Army staid 7. or 8. dayes, being enquartered in the Suburbs. Thence goes he to a Dorp within halfe an houres going of *Schweinsfurt*: where hee was 3. or 4. dayes more. About 9. or 10. a clocke the last of these nights, the Army had sudden order to remoove to *Schweinsfurt*, and quartered there under the very walles of the towne. The occasion of this remoovall was; for that the Imperialists having some Horse Partees abroad, were likely enough to affront this their open Quarter. Here staid Duke *Bernard* but one day: remooving the next towards *Konigsboven*, and enquartering short of it. Some fortnight before this time, had *Dubattel* with his Dragooners, beene sent into *Coburg Castle*: as in *Walensteins* proceedings wee shall after tell you. The *Soldat Suedois* reports, that Duke *Bernard* before this time should have defeated 40. troopes of *Crabats*, under the command of *Isolani* their Colonell Generall, and chiefeest Commander of their Nation. But of this airy defeate; those Gentlemen of our Nation, all this time with Duke *Bernard* knew nothing: nor doe I beleeve Duke *Bernard* to have then beene sirong enough in Horse, to have beaten *Isolani*, with 40. of his Cornets: which could not bee lesse then 3000. But to retorne.

Page 803.

More of Duke
Bernard see in
walensteins
Proceeding.

From *Konigsboven*, went Duke *Bernard* unto *Hilperhausen*, and enquartered short of it. And now might hee doe what he pleased in the country: for that *Walenstein* was a weeke the 10. dayes since, gone quite out of *Franconia* into *Voitland*. From *Hilperhausen*, goe they unto *Schlenking*: Quartering by it: and hither came the King to them. The King

King himselfe, I meane, attended on by *Steinbock* and his Guards onely, his Army being still behind, upon their march towards him. This was about *October 21*: so that in 14. dayes hee had marched from *Bavaria* into *Dwingen*: and stayed three at *Norimberg*. The next day, the King cashiered the *English*, and *Scottish* Regiments; and that by reason of the extreame weakenesse of the Companies. These being thus made *Reformadoes*, were ordered by the King to waite upon his owne person: he promising them good Quarters, and to preferre them. Thence went the King with Duke *Bernards* Army, thorow the *Duringer-Waldt* the next day, unto *Arnstat*, 9. *English* miles further, and in the County of *Dwingen*. And here staid he 6. dayes, that is till his other Army was *October 27.* comme vp to him. That day, went the Chancellor *Oxenstiern* backe from the King towards *Frauckford*, to order things thereabouts, and in the *Palatinate*.

The King comes to Duke Bernard.

Simon and Iudes day, *October 28.* whilest the conioyned Army advanced before, towards *Erfurt*, iust 8. *English* miles North of *Arnstat*: the King staying behind a while, wrote his last letters unto the King of *Bohemia*: which letters are in the hands of many Gentleman. About an *English* mile without *Erfurt*, in a very faire Campagnia, was the whole Army drawne up into Battaglia: the King taking a view of every *Brigade*; and appointing their place and orders to each of them. Now were divers Regiments reduced into one *Brigade*, being too weake each of them, to have stood by themselves against an enemy. The whole Army was found to be about 12000. Foote and 6500. Horse, indifferent completely.

The King musters.

His numbers.

Hither the same aftermoone, came 4. of the chiefe of *Erfurt*, to invite his Maiesty into their City: for thither was his Queene the same day arrived. The King answered, that though he had much to say unto their Magistrates, yet knew hee not how his leisure would serve him to come among them. He that writes this, was one of the 4. that now were

Lodges in
Erfurt.

the Kings carvers: who affirmes, that the Kings words were so gracious, that he could not without shedding of teares, repeat them. Towards night the King came; alighting from his horse, before Duke *William of Saxon-Weymar's* lodging: who having a long time lain there sicke, the King now went to give a visit unto. Returning thence, he went on horse-backe, to his owne lodging: before which, upon the Market place, he was received by his Queene and her Ladies. His Maiesty leading his Queene up the staires into her owne Chamber, returned quickly into his owne: where a great many of intercepted letters were presented unto him. These having scarce perused, he was called out to Supper; Duke *Ernest of Saxon-Weymar* being entertained with the King and Queene, at the same table: Duke *Bernard* that night feasting *Kniphausen* and some other Lords, at his owne lodging: Scarcely halfe an houre, had the King bene at the table, but that he rose, and went to his owne lodging.

The Kings
speech to those
of Erfurt.

Having spent a great part of the night in dispatches; giving order for letters, and sending away of Posts: he rose againe in the morning very early. Having broken his fast and taken his (last) leave of his Queene; hee then gave audience to the City Magistrates, who there waited for it. To their speech, did the King himselfe returne a long, and very pleasing answer: of which, these were the last words. *You know, that in humane affaires, there is no constancy; and that for our sinnes sake, the warres, of all things else, are most uncertaine. Some mischance or other, may soone fall out, concerning my person: which if God Almighty pleases so to have, let me earnestly now desire you to continue faithfull unto my deare Consort; doe, as becomes honest and upright men: and so I heartily pray to God, to blesse and preserve you.* Thus having said; leaving the hearers all in teares, he tooke horse, and followed after his Army. And these passages of the Kings, would I not omit; for that every word and action, so neere his end, may well deserve to be Chronicled.

The Count of *Pappenheim* some few dayes before this, had bene

beene hankering thereabouts, in his march from about the *Wefer* towards *Misnia*: and certainly, had not the King made this extremity of haste to *Arnstat*, *Pappenheim* would have troubled *Erfurt*. Word having beene now brought the King, of his late being at *Buttstet* in this *Duringen*, 12. English miles to the North-East of *Erfurt*: the King had sent away Duke *Bernard* with 1000. Horse, to fall upon *Pappenheims* Reere-guard. But Duke *Bernard* came too late: *Pappenheim* had already hastned along thorow the Countrey of *Frieburg*, there passed the river *Sala*; and conioyned with *Walenstein* about *Meriburg*. Duke Bernard sent out after Pappenheim.

The Kings Army following after, Quartered the first night in a little *Fleck* or Market towne, 3. Dutch miles from *Erfurt*. The second day, it advanc't much about the same proportion: and the 3. day it arriv'd at *Naumburg* on the East banke of the river *Sala*, which parteth *Duringen* from *Misnia*. This was November the first 1632. *Szylowettri*. The King comes to Naumburg.

The King had notice in the way, how that Felt-Marshal Lieftenant *Holck* (for this new Title was devised for him, upon the comming of Felt-Marshal *Pappenheim*, into the *Generalissimo's* Army) had demanded of the towne of *Naumburg*, the rest of that money which they had last yeere promised, (and not fully paid) to the Generall *Tilly*, to be spared from being plundered: and that *Holck* withall, had sent in 36. Muskettiers to lye there, in the name of a Safeguard for the Towne. His Maiesty upon this intelligence, had dispatched Colonel *Brandistein* away before hand, with a Par-tee of Muskettiers to recover the Towne againe: for that his Maiesty now purposed, to make his Quarters at it. *Brandistein* the last of *October*, (very early in the morning) presenting himselfe before the *Oshmars* Port, demands in the Kings name to have it opened to him. The Sentinels made him answer, that they would informe the Magistrates first of it. But *Brandistein* never purposing to stay their answer, claps a Petard to the Gate and breakes it all to pieces. Hee was scarce well settled in the Towne, but about 9. in the fore-noone,

noone, comes there a Squadron of 600. Imp. Horfe, to have Quartered themfelues within the City: but hearing of the *Swedish* Harbingers being there before them; they turn'd bridle againe, and went to informe their *Generaliffimo*. The next day about noone, came the King himfelfe into the Towne: his Army paffing by the Bridge over the River *Sala*: which marching before the Gate called Saint *James's*, their Quarters were laid out for them upon the high-wayes, that leade to *Zeitz* and *Leipsich*. The weather was very cold now; fo that the moft of the Army, lay within the walls of the town: though every man could not get a Billet, for good Quarter in it.

The Townef-men of *Naumburg* were not onely glad, but fecure; fo foone as ever they had the King of *Sweden* amongft them: even as confident, as if they had feene their *Tutelar Deity*, or that their *Angell-guardian* had beene come to their protection. This carnall confidence of an over-joyed people, the good King having by reflection applyed to himfelfe: hee became (cleane contrary to *Herods* humor) the more humbled by it. And defiring, withall, to make the fame impreffion in the people, which hee felt within himfelfe; for that it had beene too vnciuill to have chidden the men for their good wills to him: he thought upon this handfome way of preaching it into them, in the prefence of his owne *Preacher*. The fecond of November, therefore, calling his *Chapaine of Honour*, *Doffor Fabritius* unto him; Mr. *Doffor* (faies the King) *Our affaires are in a very tow-wardly condition at this prefent; every thing going on, as well as our hearts can defire. But I feare, I feare, that becaufe every mandoth fo adore and honour mee, (even like a God, as it were,) that God Almighty will thorowly punifh me for it, at one time or other. But my God knoweth, that I take no delight in it; nor am I defirous of it. Now let be, as pleaseth God: This I know, that feeing the Action is for his owne glory, that He in his owne good time will bliffe it with a moft prosperous ifue.*

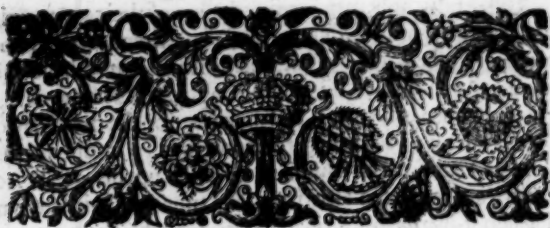
A moft religious
speech of
the King of
Sweden.

To

To see how holy men can foredoome of their owne ends ! and that the words of dying men , very oftentimes have become Propheticall ! What could King *David* have said more ? And now , whilest the King for some few dayes , gives rest unto his Army , and prepares for the great day of Battell : let us (according to our methode , in our former Bookes) goe backe a-while , to fetch up his great Adversaries *Story* : and that from the time of their late parting about *Norimberg* : till we have brought them into the field together.

K

The



The Proceedings,
Of the Imperiall *Generalissimo* the
Duke of *Fridland*. His discamping, dividing of his
Army; owne Atchievements; and his joyning
with *Holck*, *Gallas* and *Pappenheim*. All Histo-
rically led along from his rising from before
Norimberg, untill the day of the
Battell of *LYTZEN*.



Hose two great Antagonists of our times, His Majestie of *Sweden*, and His Excellency the Duke of *Fridland*; were now become the publickest persons, of our *Christian* World: scarcely was there any one man, of all the affectionates to the *Protestant* Party, (that dealt for but 50. pounds a yeere) but the King of *Swedens* Proceedings, had some secret influence and activitie, upon himselfe and fortunes. For the Duke of *Fridland*; we first see, how much straining among the *Catholike* Party there had beene, to set him out; how many feares and hopes, did still depend upon his conduct; and what a weakenesse and emptinesse, there was in the whole Empire besides; all the time that the strength of

of it was under him, employed against the King of Sweden. Whilst all men were in expectation, what the *Norimberg* Leaguers would come unto, that mightie and vaste body of the Empire, grew feebler still and feebler, in all the other parts of it: which, when *Walensteins* gate at large, was by the succours sent out of his Army, jollily cherisht and nurst up againe.

So feeble was the Empire at home, even in its owne *Austria*; that it was neither able to kill, nor so much as to shake off, its owne vermine: (for no better were they at *Vienna* esteemed) those * mutinous Boores, I meane, which became * These Boores rise not for Religion (they were not Protestants, all) but by reason of the new taxations. And therefore when they sent to the King of Sweden for Leaders, he refused them: nobly (coming to conquer his enemy by his Rebels.

There was little to doe about *Bavaria*, till that *Monte-Cuculi* had iust now broken in againe. *Cratz* (falling into *Walensteins* displeasure, as I heare,) was sent away prisoner to *Vienna*: and in his absence, *Fugger* did but shuffle up and downe, in those quarters. Duke *Iulius Administrator* of *Wirtemberg*, and Sir *Patrick Ruthven* about *Ulm* and *Overland*, were still upon the getting hand in the Circle of *Schwaben*: there being no maine Army in the field, constantly, to oppose them thereabouts, but some few forces of the Arch-Duke *Leopolds*, and the Boores onely. The Army under Generall *Wrangle* (with whom Sir *George Fleetwood* is, with his *English* Regiment) had a quiet Quarter of it, in *Prussia*: the *Pole*, (whom he was set but to observe) being busied now at home, about the election of their owne King, and in feare of the *Muskovite* from abroad. The *Swedish* garrisons about *Pomeria* and *Macklenburg*; wanted worke: and the *Spaniards*

The State of the warres abroad, when the King and *Walenstein* parted.

and the *Lorrainers*, were as good, at this time, as quite outted, all over *Germany*. Of all the Imperiall Generalls, was *Pappenheim* onely able to wagge: and he indeed, made a scambling kind of warre of it in the *Lower Saxony*: whom yet the Court of *Vienna* had desired, to ioyne with his *Generalissimo*.

And this was the constitution of the *Swedish* Armies, when the King and the Duke of *Fridland*, rose from about *Norimberg*: the Kings men, had either no action at all, or every where (but in the *lower Saxony*) the better of it. The same power (now) that had given them these advantages; would every day also have increased them: and the Imperiall Armies were brought to that passe, that they were every day in danger to be beaten: after which it was likely to be a long day, ere they would be re-enforced. This was one of the reasons, by which the Duke of *Fridland* used to excuse himselfe, from fighting it out with the King of *Sweden*: for (saith he) if my Army be overthrowne, the Emperor my Master can hardly (at least not this yeere) bring another Army into the Field: whereas the *Swedish* will quickly recreate their losses, by the emptying of their garrisons. Iust the answer of a *Turkish* Captive, unto the *Christians*. The losse of an Armie to the *Grand Signior*, my Master, is but like the shaving of his beard, the bush will grow againe: but tis like the lopping off a limme, to the *Christians*; never to be recovered.

All this could hardly have beene avoided on the Imperiall party, could but the King of *Sweden* have laine long enough by it, to have made *Walenstein* rise first: who might not then have devided his Army, to relieue other places (which thereupon must have suffered) but haue kept all his power together, out of the expectation to be foughten withall. But this, the Kings necessities before spoken of, prevented.

The Duke of *Fridlands* late comming unto *Norimberg*, was to coope up the King of *Sweden*: by which first act of his

Walenstein's
reason for not
fighting.



his power, hee seem'd, at first hearing, to have gained this reputation unto his cause; That he had, at least, put the King of Sweden to a *Demurrer*, if not utterly *Non-suited him*. For this service, was the *Generalissimo* (as he deserved) much courted and thanked from *Vienna*: his discreet conduct in it, extraordinarily applauded by his Master: yea and his authority (upon demand) by a new Imperiall Commission, strangely now augmented. The Kings necessities having brought him to it, That he must needs rise first, or lye still and doe nothing; *Walenstein* contented himselfe with this honour, That he had put him to these necessities.

What *Walenstein* had done all this time upon the King.

The King being first marcht off, and *Walenstein* by his espials assured, that it was no plot in the King; no tricke to wheele about, and to assaile him in another quarter, but that he was already set downe at *Nenstat*, for the refreshing of his Armie: he, having no more to doe here, resolves also to be rising. This motion was much put forward by these and the like reasons.

He rises:

First, Should he lye long, other places must suffer: so that there was a present and a pressing necessitie for him to relieve other places, with some of his forces. The Generall-Adjutant *Zinzendorff*, is therefore sent with 2. Regiments into *Austria*; to repress the Commotion of the Boores, there. *Gallas* is with 4. Regiments, dispatched thorow the *Vpper Palatinate* into *Voitland*, to enable *Holck* to doe the more mischief there, and in *Misnia*: so to enforce the Duke of *Saxony*, to recall his Armie out of *Silesia*.

and his reasons for it.

Secondly, he perceived his mightie vaste Armie, to waste away apace. Some thousands had beene slaine; many dead, and runne away; divers spoyl'd, and made unserviceable. The bloody *Fluxe* reigned mightily in his Leaguer: and the soldiers great complaint was, of an extraordinary want, both of Physicke and of Surgerie.

Thirdly, His Horses (the pride and strength of his Armie, at his first comming) beganne now to die apace: of which he had at least 14. or 15 000. starved, & yet I speak much within

compasse, of what I have heard. Their Carrion was very noysome unto the Quarters : and yet had his men taken better order, then the Kings people had, to carry away and bury them.

Fourthly, the Kings labour, he knew, to be one of these two: either to cut off his victuals and provisions from him; or else to fall into some friends country. If the King, now, should doe the first, then could not he lye long: and if the second, then would the King have gotten the start of him: either of these, had much crossed him: the greatnesse of his spirit being, to be of the active, fore-hand : to make the King of Sweden follow him ; and not he to follow the King of Sweden.

Fifthly, The Towne of *Norimberg*, though it had beene part of his errand for comming thither ; yet besides that hee should be likely to loose his labour, in attacking a place so well provided for resistance : hee did not thinke it Souldier-like done of him, to sit taking of one towne , whilest his enemy should be conquering of whole Countreys. For *Norimberg*, therefore, he tooke order to have it still blockt vp ; by *Gallas* taking of *Lauff*, and taking other townes and passes about it: and for the rest, he would try Masteries with the King of Sweden, who should diuert one another.

Sixthly and lastly, he might doubt, That when the King of Sweden should haue well ayred , refreshed and recreated his Army ; and haue provided himselfe of new Horfes : that hee were then likely enough to returne a-fresh vpon his Leaguer; and then either put him to fight, or starue by it.

Which of the two Armies, could then haue found the sharper swords, or the fuller *Bandeliers* ; must now haue beene left vnto the tryall : but the *Walsteiners* , by having the stronger place of encamping, and the fuller snap-sacks, prevented their being put unto that tryall.

Wedneseday, *September 12th*, was the day appointed for dis-camping. Repairing the Bridge, therefore, over the river *Kednitz*, a little North of *Furt* : hee there wafts over his whole Army : not halfe so great now, as when hee first came

to



Norimberg. Some writing tels mee, that *Walensteins* remoovall was by night: but in that (me thinks) his haughty spirit is much injured: he that upon a murther, forbids to have the Ports shut where he Quarters: would neuer, I suppose, steale away by a darke lanterne. And that it was not in the darke, was visible enough at present: for the Souldiers not onely set fire upon their Huts and Quarters, at their rising, but upon the Countrey too. A hundred Dorps and houses, were now drest vp in flame, in the Marquisate of *Onspach*, and the Iurisdiction of the *Norimbergers*: as if to sacrifice to *Mars* or *Bellona*, with this Hecatomb. *Foule warres or no warres*, is a *Maxime* among some Souldiers, otherwise not cruelly minded: but *Walenstein* is not so well made up in this, for that his haughtinesse wants an alloy or temperature of *pittie*, in it. The *Crabats*, sure, had done nothing extraordinarily worthy of a triumph: and yet could they not finde in their hearts to leaue the Countrey, without kindling of 100 Bonfires in it. Nor is this the first time, that *Walenstein* hath done so: but as if he this way affected, to bee called the *Thunder-bolt of Warre*; he nor goes nor comes, scarcely, but in flames and flashing, and in thus imitated lightning.

All the time that the Imperiall Army was marching by, the *Swedish* Forces in and before *Norimberg*, stood cautiously upon their guards: and the Army being a little past them, some troopes of Horse (as usually in such cases they will doe) fell out of the towne and Trenches, and exchanged a few bullets with their Reere, though little or nothing to the purpose. I omit the *Norimbergers* rifling of the forsaken Leaguer: where for want of Horses, the Imperialists had left an incredible world of Military luggage behind them. This as it shewed how excellently well provided, *Walenstein* had come into the Field: so it was a kind of Justice, to leave the *Norimbergers* something of good value behind him: to pay themselves withall, for the courtesie and cost, they should bestow upon the many maimed and sicke souldiers, which were there found a starving and a stinking. This

is the guise and fortune of the warres: nor can these who have beene bred full tenderly have their mothers with them in the Leaguer, to looke to them. By these was the want discovered, which since the Kings going, was increasing every day more then other: and the reasons given (which we haue before pointed at) for *Walensteins* discamping.

The dividing
of the Imperi-
all Army,

Of *Gallas*, we
shall tell you
altogether, by
and by.

Walensteins
way,

A little beyond the City; is the Imperiall Armie devided. *Zinzendorff* (as we told you) is sent to *Austria*: and Generall-Major *Gallas* with part of the Armie, goes Eastward towards *Lauff*, two leagues from *Norimberg*; which having taken, with some other townes, to keepe the *Norimbergers* blockt up: he marches by the corner of *Bohemia*, into *Misnia*. The two Dukes of *Fridland* and *Bavaria*; turning faces about to the left; come the first night unto *Bruck*, ten *Englisb* miles to the North of *Norimberg*, and sixe from *Furt*. The river of *Rednitz*, he still kept upon his left hand: which was a sure barricado on that side against the King of *Sweden*. *Walenstein* in deviding his Army, had this good consideration: that having sent away his two great Officers, *Holck* before, and *Gallas* now: yet it was but to the place where he meant to follow them; or could, if hee were put to it, presently recall them. His meaning was, to undoe the Duke of *Saxony*: and thither had he sent these two. Himselfe advanc't now towards *Duringon*: and thither was it agreed that *Pappenheim*, from the *Weser*, should come and joyne with him. This was *Walensteins* happinesse, that the place marckt out for his revenge, lay so conveniently for him.

Numbers.

The numbers of his Armie, were not above twelve thousand (besides nine or ten thousand of the Duke of *Bavariaes*) Foote, or fifteene thousand compleat marching men, (at the most) and nine or tenne thousand Horse: and so much had the King intelligence of. The rest of his sixtie thousand, had beene kill'd, dead, runne away, sent other where, with *Holck*, *Gallas*, *Zinzendorff* and into *Bavaria*: put into garrisons in the *Vpper Palatinate*: or left behind, sicke and maymed, in the



the Quarters : for certainly, both *Walenstein* and the King, lost more for either of their parts, at this lingring Leaguer ; then the King and *Tilly* both, at the great Battell of *Leipsich*. *Walenstein* at his first rising, had given order for the sending before of some of his greater Ordnance, unto *Forcheim* : for guarding whereof, hee supposed a small Convoy would be sufficient. Some *Swedish* Horse-Partees (as it chanced) were at that time gone abroad into the Bishopricke of *Bamberg* : and order of who being by the Boores discovered unto *Walenstein*; caused him to countermand his owne order, and to have his Ordnance, from thence-forth, to march with the grosse of his Army. Where the breadth of the way would suffer him, there he advanced in *Battaglia* : the Dragoones with their Muskets, Shovels, and Mattocks, (with which they still ride) were ever sent before, to make good the Passes: and the *Cra-bats*, (being his nimblest Horse) were still left behind and last in the Quarters, to bring up the Reere of the Army. And in the souldierly warinesse of this equipage, he marches unto *Forcheim* : for in the neerenesse of an active enemy, it much concerned him to be thus wary.

The Army being come to *Forcheim*; was there in a friends Countrey, and in good Quarter : and there I finde *Walenstein* to have stayed about ten dayes or a Fortnight. Here had hee notice first given him, of the King of *Swedens* going with halfe his Army towards *Bavaria* : and of Duke *Bernards* staying with the other halfe, about the *Main-streame*. According to this intelligence, he now disposes of his Forces. The Duke of *Bavaria*, being most startled at it; desires to take leave of the *Generalissimo*, with his part of the Army : requesting that *Altringer* with his Regiment and *Coloredoes*, might goe along with him, for the direction of the *Militia*. The Duke of *Fridland* grants it; and himselfe waiting (as he call'd it) upon the Duke of *Bavaria*, as farre as *Bamberg* : after a few dayes he takes leave of him, with much seeming courtesie and solemnitie. Courtiers enough, they were both of them : and both of them though high-spirited Princes,

Bavaria parts with *Walenstein*, to goe home-wards.

L

yet

yet so artfully commanding of their owne carriages; that though each of them were conscious, how much cause they had given one another to dissemble: yet with studied words and faces, did they full masterly controll all that stomacke and disrespect; by which they had thorowly, heretofore, enchain'd one another. The Duke of *Fridland* seemed to have forgotten, that ever *Bavaria* had procured him to be cashiered from his Generallship, in the *Diete of Ratisbone*: and *Bavaria* gave the *Generalissimo* never a note in the Margent, how often (since the Leaguer) hee had bene faine to waite, to get to speake with him. They are fellowes in Armes, from hence forward: they protested to serve one another, in all good offices; and to second one another, upon all occasions. One thing was noted betweene them, in this vying of Complements: That *Walenstein* was not so supple and active in his cringes, as old *Bavaria*. But this, (what ever his great Spirit meant by it) he excused by his Gowte, and other his unweildinesses. Leaving therefore, *Bavaria* to his march, homewards: we will wholly apply our selves to our Title; which is *Walensteins Proceedings*.

Early, *September 24.* went the two Dukes with the greatest part of their Army, and 48. Peeces, from *Forcheim* towards *Bamberg*: which is 16. miles to the North of *Forcheim*; where the *Mayne* drinks up the *Rednitz*. *September 27.* He is still in and about *Bamberg*, and those Quarters: so that his lingring thereabouts gave a shrewd suspicion, of a meaning he might have to the Imperiall City of *Schweinfurt*, which is seated upon the Northern banke of the *Mayne*, some 25. *English* miles to the West of *Bamberg*. Of this *Schweinfurt*, was the *Swedish* Colonell *Carl. Harr.* Governour: who sending to *Claus Hassfer*, Governour of *Konigsboven*: 24. *English* miles to the North, and towards *Duringen*: did from him, about the 24. of *September*, receive some forces, for a strengthening. Much about the same time, had Colonell *Dubasell* (who still hath the command of a Regiment of Dragooners) also marcht in thither, with 13. of his Companies.

Walenstein suspected to have a minde at *Schweinfurt*;



panies. Duke *Bernard*, likewise, being by the King entrusted with this *Schweinsfurt*; did presently upon this, advance thitherward. upon Duke Bernards making that way,

All this appearance of resistance, caused the Imperiall *Generalissimo* (tis beleev'd) to alter his determination for *Schweinsfurt*: and now wholly to convert his *Armes*, against the Princes and Countries, of the two *Electoral* Families of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*. altars his resolution:

Of this latter Family, was the neighbour Marquesse of *Bayreit*; unckle to young *Onspach*: whose Countrey for distinction from his Nephewes, is called the *Upper Marquisate*. This Prince, is also Marquesse of *Culmbach*: and both these townes with their Iurisdicktions, *Walenstein* now purposes to have a-bout with. From about *Bamberg*, therefore, in the end of the moneth; sends he some forces unto *Bayreit*, falling upon the Marquisates of Bayreit, which some, write Payreit: 43. *English* miles Eastward. The towne, they tooke without much opposition: the Burgers, for their peaces sake, consenting to give him 10000. dollars downe upon the nail, and hostages for as many more. *Kreutzetz*, a pretty towne of the Marquesses, some 6. *English* miles to the South of *Bayreit* (for what offence, I reade not) is given for pillage unto the souldiers: who have leave given them, to make up what pay the *Generalissimo* was behind hand with them upon an enemies Countrey.

Thence, goes the Army towards *Culmbach* towne; the ordinary residence of the Marquesse; 12. *English* miles to the North-West: neere which, the two originall streames of the river *Mayne* (the *Red* and the *White*) doe in one bed make an alliance betwixt their Issues. This towne being farre stronger then *Bayreit*, had put it selfe into a posture of resistance. When as *September* 21. it had by *Walensteins* letters beene summoned in the Emperours name, to be yeelded to him. In this if they obeyed not, he threatned fire and sword; to kill and burne all. The City suspecting his friendship to bee as pernicious to them, as his enmity; sends him the deniall. Hereupon his men now breaking into the countrey; to the full, per- and Culmbach.
Being put from Culmbach.

formeas much, as their *Generalissime* had threatned. They sometimes also are bold to come neere the towne, and to give it summons: but these being answered by the Cannon, they finding themselves likely to get nothing here, but leaden and iron dollars; hote sent them out of the mint: content themselves to have burnt the Mills about the towne, and to have plundered the villages, and then to draw off their Army.

And now have at the House of *Saxony*: whose lands lye all the way from hence, to the very *Elb*. From *Culmbach*, therefore, goe they unto *Coburg*: 22. *Englisb* miles to the North-West of *Culmbach*: and so farre due North of *Bamberg*. The towne and faire Castle here, belongeth unto the Duke of *Saxon-Coburg*, uncle unto the Dukes of *Saxon-Weymar*: and that was one of *Walensteins* quarrels to it. A second was, for that the Duke of *Saxon-Coburg*, with the Marquesse of *Culmbach*, had the 7. of *May* before; conjoynd their forces with the *Swedisch* Colonell *Claus Hafffer*: to make an Aenslaught upon the towne of *Cronach*, belonging unto the Bishop of *Bamberg*. This enterprife, though through the cowardise of the Boores employed upon it; it had miscarried; yet had it given a just occasion to an enemy, to be revenged of the affront-offerers. *Walenstein*, hereupon, presenting his grosse before the Towne; found not the same opposition here, which those of *Culmbach* had before made him. The Towne beeing thereupon entred: thorowly enough paid downe, for the ranfome of its owne cowardise: and afforded pay enough unto the souldiers; considering their small paines in taking of it. Here, were many a rich Packe and Bale of merchandise, made prize of: which having beene sent towards *Leipsich Mart*, by the Merchants of *Ausburg*, *Norimberg*, and other places: were just come into this towne, to be sent onwards, a night or 2. before that *Walenstein* came afore it. The Dukes Palace within the towne, fell also to the souldiers ranfacking: which the Duke, (in the feare of an old man) having with too much haste forsaken

He takes the
townes of
Coburg.

faken : had there also left his household-stuffe, with a great part of his treasure. And this was done, in the very beginning of our *October*.

The towne being thus mastered, the Castle is next summoned: into which, a little before *Walensteins* coming; *Dubate*ll having gotten from out of *Schweinsfurt* : he now had the command of it. This strong Castle, stands upon a Rocke, without the towne; but yet so neere, that it lookes downe into it. The noise of the Summons, is answered, by the thunder of the Cannon : which being lower then the sound of the Trumpet, would not let the offered conditions, to be hearkned unto. *Walensteins* Ordnance, therefore, are set to reply upon *Dubate*lls Cannon : the *Generalissimo* having a great desire, to take *Dubate*ll the second time; and *Dubate*ll being as desirous to let the *Generalissimo* understand, that it was a disadvantage which he had before taken him upon. *Walenstein* (with much adoe) having shot a breach (two some say) in the lower part of the Castle wall; he about the 3. of *October*, prepares all things to give a generall assault upon it. Five hundred souldiers, thereupon, being commanded into the dry *Graff* or Moate of the Castle, clap to their scaling ladders, to storme it. A great *Ravelin* there was, which defended the Sally-port of the Castle : and that, whilst they attacked, their fellowes, from the townes side, with continued vollyes of small and great shot, entertained the besieged. *Dubate*ll perceiving the intended *Scaladoe*, issues with his Dragooners immediately out of the Castle, going downe the hill towards the skalers. Having with good diligence also, brought downe some new peeces of Ordnance unto a side-Worke which flankered the *Ravelin*: he so skowers both it and the Moate at the same time : that a many of the assailants, now already halfe way mounted, came fluttering downe headlong into the Moate, and their scaling ladders after them: The Imperiall Colonell that had the point in the assault, and ledd them on; was there shot thorow the head : and dyed in a ditch among his fellowes. A young Lord or Cavalier, of

and laying
siege to the
Castle,

is repulled by
*Dubate*ll.



Walensteins name and kinne, I find here to have beene slaine also. Some make him to be knockt downe by the Boores of *Voitland*, a little after this: but I rather consent to this writing, which gives him to be kild here; for that I reade his body to be with much solemnity, carried from the Campe thorow *Zwick* in *Voitland*, to be enterred in his owne Lordship in *Bohemia*; something before that *Walenstein* was gotten into *Voitland*. But this is no great controversie.

and raiseth his
owne siege.

Our *Generalissimo* perceiving the Castle to be strong, high situated, well provided, and the besieged resolved for defence; he gave no more on upon it after this one repulse had beene given him. But this was not all the reason, for the raising of his siege: Duke *Bernard Weymar* was by this time come from *Schweinsfurt* to *Konigsboven*, 17. miles due West of *Coburg*, and was thence marcht to *Hilperhausen*, upon the edge of the *Duringer-Waldt*, within 13. *Englisch* miles to the North-West of this *Coburg*. And he, (as *Walenstein* might suspect) though not strong enough to encounter him in the open field, yet was hee able enough to disturbe him at a siege: And this siege, above all the rest; for that Duke *Bernard* is to be heire unto this Towne and Dukedome of *Coburg*, after the decease of *two of his old childlesse Vnckles.

* One of these,
is dead since: he
namely that
was then in pos-
session, when
his towne was
besieged.

By Duke Ber-
nards good
service,

Now had our *Generalissimo* a purpose, to have advanced further to the Northward, and to have pierced thorow, by the way of the *Duringer-Waldt* into *Duringen*: where *Papenheim* was to have ioyned with him. But this designe was now defeated, by Duke *Bernards* putting himselfe iust before him: which was a very great piece of service. By this meanes, was the Castle of *Coburg* reskeued; and the whole little Country of *Henneberg*, in which it is seated. Had *Walenstein* gone forward with his project: then had *Hilperhausen*, *Schleusing*, *Aischfeldt*, *Ilmenaw*, and *Arnstadt*, beene taken by him. Then had all the Passes thorow the *Duringer-Waldt*, beene blockt up by his people, which the King of *Sweden* must by maine force have againe opened, before ever hee could



could have come up to *Walenstein*. Then, in the meane time, would he and *Pappenheim*, have recovered *Erfurt*: with the townes about it: made himselfe master, of the whole *Landgraviate* of *Duringen*; have over-runne the lands of the *Ducall*, (and sometimes *Electoral*) Family of *Saxon-Weymar*. Then had he, thorow that rich Country, beaten out his way into the *Elect* of *Saxonys Misnia*: have wintered and enriched his Army in those Countries: and beene ready with the first of the next Spring, to have fallen into *Lusatia* and *Silesia*. Then would he have made himselfe master, of the river *Elb*: and so have cut off the King of *Swedens* retreat, home againe. Then would *Walenstein* have cleared his (titulary) Dukedome of *Mecklenburg*: and heven out himselfe a free passage, to his old Quarters in *Brandenburg* and *Pomerania*, and againe possessed himselfe, of the banks of the *Baltick* Ocean. And thus handsomely had our *Generalissimo* contrived it: the effecting of which project was worth the abandoning all the *lower Saxony*, by the calling away of *Pappenheim* out of it: and in the highest degree concerned the King of *Sweden*, to make such hast out of *Bavaria*, to prevent it.

is *Walensteins*
great project
defeated.

All the former part of this project, was now defeated by Duke *Bernard*: the taking, namely, of the *Landgraviate* of *Duringen*, with the Dukedome of *Weymar*: as likewise the conioyning of *Pappenheim*, with his *Generalissimo*: which hee durst not after attempt to doe, till hee knew that *Walenstein* was false by another way, into *Misnia*.

And thus was the Imperiall Generall enforced, not to raise his siege onely from before the Castle of *Coburg*: but to quit likewise his intended march thorow the rich, and (of late) un-plundered Countrey of *Thuringia*. Turning faces about therfore, to the right; (his souldiers burning downe *Helberck*, *Nemstat*, and other Dorps about *Coburg*) he marches directly by the towne of *Cronach*, into *Voitland*; which his owne *Holck* and *Gallas* with their Armies, had of late so foully *Voitland*, harried.

He falls into

harried. It was a deepe prepenſed reſolution in the *Generaliſſimo*, to pay the Elector of *Saxony*, to the purpoſe: he was once in a quandary, when as he had newly taken *Prague*; whether he ſhould firſt fall into *Saxony*, or come againſt the King of *Sweden*. And had not the King beene ſo neere him, at that very time, in ſuch danger to have overthrowne the Duke of *Bavaria*, firſt; and then, in his abſence, to have falne into *Bohemia*: he would, (no doubt) have firſt gone againſt the Elector of *Saxony*.

And now, at him he goes. The Elector of *Saxonyes* ſubiects, (the poore Boores of *Poitland*) perceiving this ſecond tempeſt now comming upon them; reſolve with themſelves, that the beſt whood to beare off ſuch foule weather, would be an head-piece. In great and confuſed numbers, therefore, gathering themſelves together to be revenged: they with the beſt weapons, that a ruſticall fury, could put into their hands; firſt turne feare into deſpaire, and that into deſperatenefſe: which in ſtead of ſkill, order, and true valour, they made to ſerve their turnes againſt the invaders. Beſetting the woods, therefore, and the bye-ways; which the ſeeking for their loſt Cowes, now and then, had heretofore made them perfect at: they *with as good a will as ever Boores gate Children*, knockt downe ſuch rambling and plundering boote-halers, of the Imperiall Army, as they could ſingly light upon, and maſter. This is he that rid away with my horſe, cryes one, downe with him: that fellow ſtole my 2. kync, ſaies a ſecond, cut the throat of him: and he, carried away all my wiues ducks tother day, cryes a third Boore, knocke him downe too. All the Quarter they would give the ſouldiers, was to quarter thoſe whom they had killed, and to mangle thoſe bodies, whom they had mawled: as if every blow they gave a dying ſouldier, had killed them another enemy; becauſe it (in part) ſatisfied their revenge, by the acting of another cruelty. And here (ſaies ſome Relation) was the young *Walenſtein* killed: of whom we before ſpoke, in the action of *Coburg*. But the *Walſteiners* were even with the poore Boores for it, if

if burnings, and rapes, and ravages, could cry quittance: for, sure, the warres seemed not here to be made by *enemies*, but by *furies*. Making foule worke there:

The place of this Country of *Voisland*, is betwixt *Daringen*, *Franconia*, *Misnia* and *Bohemia*: and the reason that *Walenstein* did now enter into it, was partly, to beare all the country along before him; and partly, to lay the seate of the warres in an enemies Countrey. And who can deny this, to have beene souldierly done of him? But that hee had first commanded in *Holck* and *Gallas* into it; and did now follow himsele with fire and sword, in it: was not so much upon the barbarisme, or tyrannicall delight in blood and cruelty; but out of the terror of a military policy: that with the feare and horror to see his subjects so used, he might constrain the Duke of *Saxony* unto a sudden and disadvantageous composition; with whom the courtships of repeated Ambassages from the Emperour, had not heretofore prevailed. And who need suspect the constancy of the Duke of *Saxony*, that chose rather to endure all this, then to breake his League with the *Protestant* Princes, and the King of *Sweden*? and his reasons for it.

Our *Generosissimoes* first Rendezvous in this *Voisland*, was at *Plann* upon the river *Elster*: downe whose streame, at the distance of 60. *English* miles to the Northward, *Leipsich* standeth. To this *Plann* did the Imperiall Vantguard arrive, upon Wednesday the tenth of *October*: the rest of the Army going towards *Weida*, on the same side of the *Elster*, 12. miles neerer unto *Leipsich*. To this *Weida*, (after the Avantguard at *Plann* had the second time plundered the poore people thereabouts, as farre as *Zwick*) did the whole Army draw together, where he also formed a new Leaguer: that so those severall Partees and divisions, which were sent abroad to spoile the country, and to bring in contributions, might have a standing Campe to retreate unto. Hee formes a standing camp.

Leaving, after this, the Duke of *Fridland* still encamped about *Weida*, let us surveigh the other destroyed parts of the Duke of *Saxonyes* Dominions: and see what worke *Holck*

M

and



and *Gallas* had there, (singly and joyntly,) made since their severall sendings out from before *Norimberg*. And their Stories let us now fetch up; that we may the more methodically bring them to their *Generalissimo*, and to the siege of *Leipsich*.

The Story of
Holck's actions,
in the Duke of
Saxony's coun-
trei.

And begin wee with *Holck*, first; who (as we have in the beginning told you) was about the 20th. of *July*. sent out with 6000. Horse and 4000. Muskettiers, into *Misnia*: the reasons whereof, we have there likewise given you. He advancing to the edge of *Voisland*, within some few leagues of *Egra* and *Bohemia*; seales the smaller handsome townes first of all: as *Dabrabergh*, *Hirsberg*, *Lichtenberg*, *Sparrnberg*, and *Hoff*: all in this hilly and woody frontiers. Next makes he towards those upon the *Elster*; which rises hereabouts, a little to the Southward. *Olfsnitz* a faire towne, a little more Easterly; is forced: and burnt downe to ashes for resisting. *Plann*, a good towne, about a league more Northerly up the same river, is blocked up at the same instant with some Horse troopes: and divers of the villages that belonged to it put on fire, because it surrendered not at the first summons. The rest, I omit: not so much for brevities sake, as for horror: not listning to relate the Barbarismes committed by his *Cra-bats*: as if they had falne in, not to make warres, but *desolations*; or, as if they had beleaved, that a countrey was never thorowly conquered, till it were utterly destroyed.

He besieges
Zwick:

Holck, being farre, as yet, from the Electors Court at *Dresden*, and for that reason, finding the lesse opposition to controll him: advances boldly, and attacks *Zwick*, the strongest piece in all that countrey, standing about 14. or 16. miles to the North-East of *Plann* aforesaid. About *August* 13th. he first presents himselfe before the towne: and demands it to be rendred. The summons being denyed, the place is surrounded by his Army. It being scituated in a hilly woody countrey, *Holck* found a naturall Battery, or rising hill hard by the Castle, upon which he caused 8. peeces of Cannon to be mounted. With these, playes he hard upon the Castle, and
the

the Cattle as hard upon him againe. His carriage had beene so good towards other places, since he came into the land, that the men of *Zwicka*, as they despaired of his mercy; so were they by that despaire armed with a resolution, to surmount his cruelty.

The place was defended by Colonell *Kalkstein*, who had beene sent in hither with 6. troopes of Horse, and some Foote-Companies: so soone as ever *Holck* was heard of in *Voisland*, *Holck* seeing it likely to prove a long siege, sends in his Trumpet to offer them a faire parlee. This being by *Kalkstein* refused: he fearing to lye here so long, till the Elector should have raised the countrey upon him: sends in his Trumpet the second time, with enlarged conditions. These (I reade) they were.

1. To alter nothing in their Religion.
2. To leave them in the allegiance of their *Elector*, not tendering them an oath, to any other Prince.
3. To infringe none of the priviledges of their City: but to leave the keyes and Government, still with the Magistrates.
4. Not to spoyle the lesser neighbour townes in their Jurisdiction.
5. To give their garrison, souldierly and honourable conditions.
6. And not charge them with above 200. of his men, for a garrison.

which is rendered upon conditions.

Holck made most solemne protestations, faithfully to keep these Articles; sending them in, good hostages for it: nor doe I find, but that he afterwards kept his promise, well enough with them.

The Elector of *Saxony* being startled with these tydings, sets out his *Ban* and *Arrier-ban*, to call all his *Tenants*, and those that held upon him in any *Service*: to arme for the defence of the Country. The Felt-Marshall *Arnheim*, likewise, is with all diligence sent unto, to dispeede downe such troopes as he could well spare, out of *Silesia*: Hereupon, is

He plunders
Aw,

the Colonell *Vitzdumb* sent downe with his Regiment, unto *Dresden*. This was about the 20th. of our August.

*Zwick*a now at *Holcks* devotion, he next assaults *Aw* (or *Augusta*) where the *Elektor* had a house of pleasure. Here the souldiers found very rich *Hangings*, and other furnitures of Court; which were never meant for the entertainment, of such course people. *Schopaa* a towne upon a river of that name, which runnes into the *Mulda*, is next false upon: 6 leagues to the East of *Zwick*a. Some oppositions being here made, did something colour over that steine of blood, liberally here shed by the Conquerors.

and besieges
Chemnitz:

Chemnitz, some 7. miles to the North of *Schopaa*, held them more tacked: the hilly and the woody scituation, making the place something the stronger; and the Townsmen the more confident: Desperate, I should have said: seeing to that degree had *Holcks* usage driven all those townes, that had but any hopes of resistance. Some tolerable conditions, *Holck*, offered unto them: which they durst not so well trust unto, as unto their owne strengths and resolutions. They are besieged: and *Holcks* men tooke the paines (which here onely, and at *Zwick*a they had beene put unto) to make use of the Spade, and to bring forward their *Approaches*. Some country Boores being gotten in hither, for their safeties, (enow to make up 10. Companies) armed with desire of revenge, (especially for their Barnes, which the Imperialists had set fire upon) now fallye out upon the Approachers. Shovells they had with them, which weapon, none could use better: and with these, they laboured to fling the earth againe into the *lines* and *rowling Trenches*, which the Imperiall Pioners were now *running*. But this being but the Boores *Schollers-prize*, and they having to doe with *Musters of Defence*, were quickly beaten in againe, under the favour of their owne Ordnance. The Townsmen kept their owne, for all this: and would not (like *Zwick*a) hearken unto termes of Treaty: so that the Imperialists were faine to levie their owne siege, and leave them to their liberty.

which he is
forced to give
over.

I can

I can report nothing worthy of a History, in these actions. Plainly, there was not extraordinary much good service done, worthy of a souldier: unlesse this be of honourable report to him; that he made very foule warres of it. For next, burnes he *Curbitz*, *Pesteritz*, and *Wilsdorp*: this last, being within 4. *English* miles of *Dresden*. Early in the morning August 28. did the *Crabats* make a *Cavalcado* to affront *Dresden*: where the Elector was then resident. The City taking the Alarme at it, let flye some peeces of Ordnance amongst them, whereupon they retyred. At broad day light the Ports being opened, some troopes of *Lagers* and *Stalburgs*, were sent out after them. The Horsemen of Colonell *Stienau*, having within a league of *Dresden* taken some of the *Crabats*: they confessed the intention they had for firing of the Suburbs. The night after, some of them burnt *Oderen*, upon the river *Floe*, 8. miles South-West of *Frieberg*. Others at the same time did as much at *Doblen*, 16. miles West of *Dresden*. By this it appeares that their forces were divided, for the doing of the more mischief: yea their prisoners avowed freely, that they had order from their Generall to set fire upon *Dresden*, and the whole Countrey.

By this beginning of September is Colonell *Vitzdumb* arrived at *Dresden* from out of *Silesia*: to whom divers hundreds of the Countrey Gentlemen, and some thousands of the Electors Tenants, and the undone Boores resorted: to make up an Army. These being so soone as might be sent out to repress these *Bontesens*: *Holck* was thereupon enforced to retire his people towards *Zwick* againe; there to expect a re-enforcement by the comming downe of *Gallas* to him. In this expedition, did the Saxons light upon one of *Holcks* *Quarter-masters*; with whom they found some writings, which made the Imperialists to be more hated in those parts: and more and more averted the Elector, from listning to any Treaty. These Papers discovered no good intentions in the Imperialists towards him: whatsoever

By the Saxons forces,

is *Holck* enforced to retire, towards the Frontiers.

name of peace were pretended. He had also a list of *Holcks* and *Gallas*'s whole forces, about him: which I wish the *Saxons* had sent hither.

Ditzdumb and his men, having for the time, indifferently well cleared the Countrey of these Scarre-fire *Crabats* and Imperialists (now retired towards *Leutmaritz* and *Bohemia*) the *Electör*, for easing of his purse licenced divers of these new forces. Divers *Swedes* also, that came out of the garisons of *Pomeran*, *Brandenburg*, and *Mecklenburg*, were refused entertainment: the *Electör* supposing the *Foxe* had been dead, because he lay still, and stirr'd not. But *Holck* did but stay for *Gallas* his comming in the end of September: whom (in this quietnesse) goe we a little backe, to fetch from *Norimberg* into *Misnia*.

Gallas his Story

This *Gallas* was by his *Generalissimo* sent into the *Vpper Palatinate*, September 13: the designe being, first to doe a service to the Duke of *Bavaria*, by recovering the townes in that Countrey for him. Secondly, to keepe *Norimberg* still blockt up, by taking of the neerest of their townes: Thirdly, when all was done, to conjoyne with *Holck* in *Misnia*. *Gallas* first of all, sets him downe before *Lauff*: a towne of the *Norimbergers* upon the *Pegnitz*, 8. miles East of them. Here had he not many above 2000. men, and some 4. peeces of Cannon. He tooke the towne September 14th. in the night; after a dayes opposition, or else had the King of *Sweden* the next day relieved it. Here notwithstanding that he tooke it by agreement, yet caused he the Lieftenant that was Governor, to be hanged. Hence goes *Gallas* still Eastward unto *Herspruck*, 4. miles further: and tooke that also. Some of his, are about this time sent 9. or 10. *Englisch* miles more Northerly: where they take *Felden*, upon the same *Pegnitz*. From *Herspruck*, his Army advances due East, unto *Sultzbach*, 15. miles further. The chiefe of the Citizens here, did he send prisoners into *Amberg*, 5. miles to the South East, for that they had not paid in those 30000. dollars, which at *Walstein*'s comming that way, had bene imposed upon them.

The

The good towne of *Gresenberg*, 11. miles North of *Lauff*, making him some opposition; was taken, plundered, and burnt to ashes. Having served other townes so: his whole Army crosses over to the North-East, and comes to *Weiden* upon the river *Nab*, 10. or 12. miles from *Sulzbach*: going the same way out of the *Upper Palatinate*, that *Holck* had done before him: saving onely that he goes neerer to *Bohemia*. His march now lyes up the *Nab* to *Dirschmeyer*; and so towards *Wonsledel*, *Ruckenitz* and *Egra*. Vpon Friday *Septeemb. 21.* he burnes downe *Wonsledel*: and the Sunday after, he did as much for *Ruckenitz*: both being the Elector of *Saxonyes* townes, in the edge of *Voitland*. The good towne of *Egra*, on the edge of *Bohemia*, having by the Saxons beene recovered, since *Walensteins* sitting downe at *Norimberg*: was also destinated to the same destruction. But this, was by the Saxon Colonel *Haxtel* prevented: both by sending in provisions, for the defence of the towne; and by presenting *Gallas* with some moneyes, in the name of a contribution, for the diverting of his fury.

Having taken divers townes, in the *Upper Palatinate*.

He falls into *Voitland*.

Thence advances *Gallas*, unto *Hoff* upon the river *Sala*, some 24. *English* miles to the North-West of *Egra*. His way, he directed thorow the hills and woods, upon those Frontiers: where the souldiers hoped, to light upon some of the Countrey Gentlemen and Yeomen; who with their wiues and families, were for feare fled in thither.

To this *Hoff*, comes he, Munday *September 24.* and hee had an Army of some 7. or 8000. fighting men, though he demanded bread and provisions of the Countrey, for 14000. Eight peeces of Ordnance with their furniture, drew healong: and now takes he his way to *Plau*, 15. miles to the North-East of him. He had sent his *Suttlers* before him unto *Zwicksa*, 12. miles from *Plau*, that they should by Wednesday night, provide and send him in, Provant bread enough for 14000. people: and indeed the Drablers and hangbyes of the Army, with the souldiers women and children that followed it, might make up 14000. Those of *Zwicksa* sending

He goes to *Plau*.

ding out some to treat with him; pacifie him with a Copy of the Articles, upon which his Forerunner *Holck*, had compounded with them. *Gallas* answered honourably, That he would by no means violate that agreement: but gave them to understand withall, that they had done very well in so compounding, and that it were best for other townes to imitate them: otherwise, there was nothing but fire and sword, to be expected from him. However, he must have victuals for his souldiers.

Hereupon *September 26th*. He goes from *Plaun*, towards this *Zwick*a, as if he had meant to have seene their Store-houses: but changing his mind (it seemes) he sent some 2. or 3000. Northward towards *Altemburg*: himselfe, with the greatest part of the Army, going to the Northeastward, 31. or 33. *English* miles from *Plaun* aforesaid, unto *Chemnitz*.

Those that marcht towards *Altemburg*, tooke the little County of *Werden* along with them in their way, something North of *Zwick*a: which, together with the other smaller *Flecks* or Market Townes, by the banke of the river *Pleiss*: they use their pleasure with. Thence goe they to *Altemburg*; the City and Residence of the Duke of *Saxon-Altemburg*: with whom, they compound for 5000. *Dollars*. But this would not proove a sufficient discharge against the Townes-mens being plundered: seeing that two dayes after, when *Gallas* sent away for them: they pillaged divers houses both in the Towne and Suburbs, at their parting. For now had *Gallas* need of them, he had engaged himselfe to finish what *Holck* before had given over in the plaine field: and that was to take in *Chemnitz*. The Townes-men here, having enough of the sufferings that *Holck* had before put them to: and fearing that if he came to ioyne with *Gallas*, they should never be able to withstand their owne ruines: they to soone as *Gallas* his men were come up to him, upon the first of *October* yeeld up their Towne: and upon the same conditions, that *Holck* had before given to *Zwick*a. Thence goes *Gallas* towards *Fridberg*: and there *Holck* peeces

He takes in
Chemnitz;

joynes with
Holck.

peeces in with him.

Holck since his retyring to the Frontiers from the Saxons, having by this time well recreated his Army: upon confidence of that, and of *Gallas* coming; returned into *Misnia* againe, *Holck* falls again into *Misnia*. still burning the countrey before him, wheresoever he found any discontent or resistance. In the end of September, *Holck* and *Gallas*. having some 8000. men in his Army, goes to giue a second affront unto *Dresden*.

It was a very misty morning: under favour of which, the *Crabats* and others were gotten into the Suburbs. Being discovered more by the noise then sight; the Ordnance are from the walles turned upon them: some withall falling out amongst them. *Holck* knowing of that, comes in withall diligence, hoping in the mist, to beate the falliers, and to enter the Ports pell mell together with them. But *Vitzdumbs* Regiment, falling out upon the 2^d. Alarme; maintaines the fight in the pother, till the mist about noone cleered. Then could the Canoniers better discern, where to direct their volleys: so that *Holck* perceiving the Action not faiseable, drawes off his men, and gives it over. This being too tough a piece for him; his next project is, to conjoyne with *Gallas*: for which purpose, he now goes immediately towards *Frieberg*. Conjoyning with *Gallas*.

This conjunction being effected, they October 3^d. fall upon *Frauenstein*; a pretty towne upon a hill, some 16. *English* miles to the South of *Dresden*. Here finding some opposition, they carry the towne by Scaladoc; and put all (both souldiers and inhabitants) to the sword for it. Here they now purposed to reside, with their Army: for that the towne was pretty and strongly situated. October 4th. they assault *Frieberg*, a handsome towne upon the river *Mulda*, some 10. *English* miles to the West of *Frauenstein*. Here is a beautilfull Church and a Cloyster: and in that, the Tombes of diuers of the *Electors* of Saxonyes Ancestors. The towne was hard laid at by the Imperialists, and the Saxons shew'd them some little sport for it. But it was but for their exercise; they being no way able to hold out a generall assault, which was

They take
Frauenstein:

and *Frieberg*.

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next

next day threatned them : and a generall destruction wihall, if they yeelded not: Hereupon, *October* fifth is the towne given up : the defendants being able to obtaine no other conditions, then the saving of their lives ; marching out with no other weapons, but their swords onely. Some writing tels mee, that they had souldiers conditions. Divers of the richer Countrey people, having fled in hither (as to a place of some indifferent securitie) the souldiers exacted from them, and from the Townes then, 40000. dollars contribution. The *Elektor of Saxony* was faine, likewise, to come off with 80000. dollars more, to save the Monuments of his Predecessors, from being ransackt and defaced. Tis the fashion of divers *Germane* Princes, to be buried in their Robes, and with their *Ensignes of Honour*, and perchance, Jewels : all which would have bene booty, good enough, to these Rake-shames ; that make no conscience of this horridder kinde of Sacriledge.

Nere this *Friberg*, *Holck*s men taking, I know not whar, high displeasure at a certaine *Minister* of the countrey, (a man of rare learning, as *Gallobelgiens* calles him :) miserably, first of all, hew'd him in pieces with their swords ; and then flung him to their dogs to be eaten. But they, out of a certaint horror, which over-awed their *Curiosnesse* and *Canine appetite* ; would not so much as touch, or lick a drop of the blood of him : whereupon his Friends, the next day, gathered up his pieces, and interred them. And lest this should seeme incredible, to the Readers ; the Author of *Le Soldat Suedois* avowes, That the *Crabats* shew'd themselves ingenious to invent new torments, for the poore Inhabitants : and that it was frequent with them, for want of Dogs-meate, to feede their curres with humane carnegs. This if it may be true, though the dogs were the *Man-eaters*, yet the *Crabats*, surely, were the *Canniballs*.

Having done with *Friberg*, the 2. Imperiall Commanders, (after the taking of some smaller townes) advance towards *Maffen* : which is the towne that gives name to the whole Marquissate.

See what we have written of Tillyes souldiers ryling of the Marquesse of *Onspachs* *Tombs*, page 115. of our *Second Part*.

The inhumane Barbarismes of the *Crabats*.

Marquifate. The place of it, is upon the Westerne banke of the river *Elb*. some 18. *Englisch* miles to the North of *Friburg*. and within 10. of *Dresden*. Hither came they *October* tenth, where finding small resistance, they the same day tooke possession of it. They take *Meissen*.

Whilest this was a doing, the *Saxon* forces which were upon the Easterne side of the *Elb*; make towards the new bridge, that the Imperialists had over the river: which falling a-board with, they tooke in sunder, and either carried away with them; or let the pieces drive downe the streame from them. The Imperialists flew in to the rescue of their bridge, but all with the lateſt: for that the *Saxons* having begun with that end, which was next unto the Imperialists; tooke away all meanes of their getting over to disturbe them. They let fye Cannons and Musket shot, freely enough among them: but for all that, the *Saxons* went thorow with their businesse. By this exploit, were the Imperialists staved off, from returning over the *Elb* any more, to the Eastward. The *Saxons* cut off their bridge from them.

This caused them to turne all along upon the Westerne banke of it: deviding their Forces thereupon, to doe the more mischief. Some of *Holatz* men, upon Thursday *October* 11th. (as if to be revenged for their bridge) plunder and burne *Lammisch*: 6. *Englisch* miles to the North-West of *Meissen*. Others of them, the same day, were shovne out as farre as *Oschitz*; as much further to the Northward, which, with other villages in the way, they did but pillage. Whereupon *Holatz* turnes towards *Leipsich*.

October 12. they came to *Wurtzen*, upon the East side of the river *Mulda*: 10. miles to the West of *Oschitz*. and halfe way betwixt it and *Leipsich*. Here they encountred not with much trouble. The Townie pretended poverty, and that they could not pay so many dollars, as the souldiers demanded for contribution. But souldiers not using to be paid with excuses: carry away their richest Burgers to their Army: as if the capturing of their richest men, would have made the rest the abler; or, that they could have coyned the Burgers, into *Dutch* dollars.

October 13. doe 1800. *Crabats* flye out as far as *Nienstat*, and spoyle that countrey. Five hundred other Horse, offer as much at *Saßfeld*: but the garrison there, perswaded them to goe home againe: which yet they did not, till they set fire upon the Suburbs. As much is by others done, to the lesser townes upon the *Elb*: so that the *Electör of Saxony* was by this time made sensible, what it was to have angered *Walenstein*.

By this time had the *Electör of Saxonyes* forces, under *Virzdumb* and *Kalkstein*; pressed upon the Imperiall Leaguer at *Frauenburg*, and made them to forsake it: for *Gallas* was by order from his *Generalissimo*, now a going towards *Bohemia*; upon the entreaty of *Don Balthasar di Marradas*, who commanded all in *Bohemia*, *Arnsheim* and *Dubals*, had forely, by this time, overlaid the Imperialists in the lower *Silesia*; gotten *Breslaw*: and made their way open, either into *Moravia*, or *Bohemia*. But of this, in its owne division.

Gallas sent towards *Silesia*:

Againe of *Walenstein*.

By this time was our great Duke of *Fridland*, come into *Voitland*; whom we left encamped at his *Weida* Leaguer. He (the more to anger the *Electör of Saxony*, whom he hated) sent againe some Partees towards *Friberg*: commanding either the rising, or the redeeming of the *Electörs* all *Monuments*. *Holck*; agreement and *Safe-guards*, being pleaded; *Walensteins* answer was, That he did not hold himselfe concluded, by any bargain of his *Lieftenants*: so that the *Electör* was compeld to satisfie him.

He goes towards *Leipsib*.

Holck being come thus neere *Leipsib*; now began the Duke of *Fridland* to move from his *Weida* Leaguer, towards *Leipsib* also. His march was to *Altemberg*, on the river *Pleiss*, about 24. *Englisch* miles to the North of *Weida*, where he fate downe; and cast up a royall Leaguer. Thence sends he some forces to *Born*, along the same river: mid-way betwixt *Altemberg* and *Leipsib*; and about 12. or 13. *Englisch* miles from either. Thence goe they unto *Schenfeld*; *Holck* at the same time, mooved also towards *Leipsib*.

Holck mooves towards him.

Th:

The *Leipsichers* (to their terror) perceiving, which way these *Cass of Falcons*, (the 2. Imperiall Armies) made a *Point*: they, with all speede, Munday October 15. conveigh away the richest and lightest of their Merchandise, unto *Wismberg*; and so downe the *Elb*, unto *Magdenburg* and *Hamborow*.

The next day, a Partee of Imperiall Horſe (some 60. in number) pillage the verie neereſt villages unto *Leipsich*: as *Gonnerwitz*, *Heida*, *Steteritz*, with others. The chiefe of their expedition, was but a boote-baling voiage: for that they rob even the market-women. Wednesday the ſeuenteenth betwixt 7. and 8. in the morning, were there divers troopes of Imperiall Horſe, diſcovered at *Vbleſſen*, neere unto *Damberg*: which continued there in *Battaglia*, moſt part of the day following. The Citie diſcharged ſome Ordnance at them: but they never offered to come neerer.

The 18th. about noone; came there an Imperiall Trumpet into *Leipsich*, with 2. letters in his hand: one whereof was directed from the Duke of *Fridland*, to the Burgomaſter: and the other, unto the Governor of the Caſtle, and the militarie Commanders. That to the Magiſtrates, was to this purpoſe; That the Duke of *Fridland* his Excellency, did in faire termes deſire, and in the name of his Imperiall Maieſtie adviſe them; to commit themſelves unto his mercy, as other Citieſ had done. That, moreover, they would receive 200. of Colonel *Hatzfelds* Horſemen, into their Caſtle; and reſigne up themſelves wholly, unto the ſervice and devotion of his Imperiall Maieſty. This if they reſuſed, then had his Excellency juſt cauſe with his whole power to come from *Altemburg* upon them; and to make their ruine an example, unto all the Citieſ of the Empire.

Walenſtein ſuccumona *Leipsich*.

The letter to the Military men, was, an invitation to them, to yeeld upon faire termes: an offer of good Quarter, to as many as would march out quietly: and of honourable conditions, both to Officers and Souldiers, (either on horſebacke or on ſpoote) as many as would take entertainment. The Mi-

Their answer.

lity men answered plainly, that they would not yeeld; and the Magistrates shuffled off the businesse to the soldiery: answering by the same Trumpet, that the Castle was a Fort, which they had no command of: nor could they tell, how to get the soldiers out of the City: and that having tendered his Excellencies letters to the Governour of the Castle, he would not open them, because not by name directed to him. And with these answers; the Trumpet returned towards the Leaguer.

That which made the *Leipsichers* so valorous, in their answers; was a hope they had upon their Duke, partly: who was now going from *Dresden* unto *Torgau* upon the *Elb*: there (as they hoped) to stay for *Armbrechts* coming out of *Silesia* with the Army. They had a confidence also, upon Duke *Bernards* coming to relieve them, by the way of *Düringen*. But that hope, was quickly dashed by *Pappenheims* falling into the said *Düringen*: who gat before hand with Duke *Bernard*: which Duke had neither strength nor command to relieve them.

Walensteins second message:

Friday October 19th. about noone; some Imperiall horsemen, together with 80. Muskettiers; drew neere unto the wals of the City: and about the burying place (commonly called *Gods-Aker*) they made an orderly *Court of guard*: which they held unto the evening. About 2. a clocke, the former Trumpet came againe into the City. Being presently brought before the Magistrates: and delivering his summons by word of mouth; he by word of mouth had his deniall given him. His message was. That his Excellencie the Duke of *Friuland*, had not bene used to be put off with words: nor to send twicke to one purpose: and therefore did now advise them to give him a speedie satisfaction, by putting themselves under his obedience: otherwise, they must not hereafter expect any mercy, but to be made an example to all that continued in their obstinacie. The Cities answer was, That they had no power to dispose of their Princes Citie, without their Princes leave for it: and therefore desired his Excellencie to rest satisfied

and the townes answer.

fied with it. By this time, a greater strength of Imperiall Horſe, preſented themſelves before the City, to answer whom, did ſome Muskettiers make a ſally: the Ordnance from the walls likewise playing very hard upon them. About 4. a clock, divers Imperiall Cornets more, charging hard upon the *Leipsich* Muskettiers, beate them into the City.

Sunday October 21. by breake of day, did the Imperiall Armies begin to draw round about the towne: and to bring on their Ammunition, and all other preparations for a ſiege. Then beganne the *Walenſteiners* to breake the ground, and to bring forward their Approaches, ſome Muskettiers, were immediately alſo lodged in one of the Suburbs. The Ordnance went off roundly from all parts of the wall: whole peales continued untill the evening. This day, were two other Trumpets ſent from the Leaguer into the ſurrounded City; who were brought into the Statehouſe before the Magiſtrates: to whom they in the afternoone delivered their meſſage. About this time, was there a ſhort pauſe or ceſſation from ſhooting. Theſe Trumpets being returned into the Leaguer; another was preſently diſpatched towards the City: ſo wiſing was our *Generaliſſimo* to winne a towne by perſyes, rather then by fighting. This Trumpet was not diſpatched till within evening. The report went of his meſſage, That the Duke of *Friſland* vowed hee would have the City, either by faire meanes, or by foule: and if they would yeeld it willingly, they ſhould have good Quarter: but in caſe they ſtood it out; he protested deeply, that neither man, woman nor child, no nor ſo much as a dog, ſhould ever goe alive out of the City. *Walenſtein* was as likly to be a man of his word, as any man (that I know) in the world, in *Turky* or in *Chriſtendome*.

The Imperiall Foote that were lodged in the Suburbs, let ſie their vollyes into the City: with which, though divers were hurt, yet was there but one boye ſlaine that night, neere unto the great Colledge. About night, they began on both ſides to draw towards an agreement: and yet (as thoſe of *Leipsich* write of themſelves) very doubtful it was whether

or

or no they should ever come to an accord; for that the Townesmen were very resolute, and averse from yeelding. It being once darke, the Imperialists out of the Suburbs; heaved *hand-Granadoes*, and other Wild-fires, into the City: which not onely gave light, but fire also in 2 places unto it. This was with much diligence, and little losse, quenched: nor did the Fire-balls doe much more hurt, then take off one souldiers right legge, whereof next morning he died. The fight on both sides continuing; another Imperiall Trumpet presented himselfe before the Ports of the City: but the small and great shot going off so incessantly, both from the walls and Castle; it was so hote staying for him there: that he againe returned, without delivering of his message. Presently was he sent backe againe: and this was the summe of his errand. That his Excellency the Duke of *Fridland*, was contented to allow them 6. houres more, to consider upon it: in which time if they resolved to entertaine parlye, they should send him out their Deputies unto *Schonfeld*, where they should be treated with.

23.

By 6. a clocke the next Munday morning *October 12.* some of the *Universitay*, ioyned with others of the Citie Counsell and Magistrates; repaire unto *Schonfeld*: where after an houres deliberation, they on both sides came to agreement for the rendring of the Citie. About noone, the Imperiall forces, with sound of Drumme, and all gallantrie, entred the Citie, presently possessing themselves of the *Petriner Colledge*. About 4. a clocke the same day, did the Felt-Marshall *Halck*, and many other Imperiall Officers; ride also into the same Colledge: taking a diligent view all about it; how they might most conveniently plant some peeces of Ordnance in it, to play thence upon the Castle. Herenpon were 4. halfe Cannons brought into the Citie; and 3. Batteries were with Horse-dung and boards upon them made up immediately, against the Castle. One, was neere the *Peters* Tower, and the other 2. in the *Petriner* Colledge aforesaid. Vpon each of these Batteries, they mounted one peece of Ordnance: and with

Leipsich towne
taken.

with every one of them, they plaid all that whole night, upon the Castle. Divers Ensignes of Foote, kept their guards upon the Market place, in the meane time: amongst whom, was there a goodly troope of Curiaffiers (Horsemen in compleate harnessse) consisting of some 180.

The Commander of the Castle the same man (as I heare) that before delivered it up to the Generall Tilly, the day before the last Battell of *Leipsich*, and called *Iohannes Vopelius*, hung out the *defensive Bunner* from the top of the Castle; and (as if he scorned to be twice taxed, with the shame of giving over one Castle) he plaid very hard with his great Ordnance upon the Imperialists: even from their first entring into the Colledge; untill broad day light upon Tuesday morning. That day, being the 23^d. the Imperialists having discharged their Ordnance but 17. times in all; the bloody Flag was taken downe from the Castle; and a white Flag of truce put up in the roome of it: to signifie their desire of a composition. Shooting is then given over: and hostages and Deputies are sent one to another, to conclude upon the conditions. That evening were they accorded: and to this purpose.

First, that all those Citizens that were fled into the Castle, together with the souldiers, should march out with *Leipsich Castle* baggage and baggage; the Citizens taking passes of the *Generalissimo*, to goe whither they pleased: or otherwise to abide in the Citie. *rendred.*

Secondly, That the garrison should march out with Colours flying, matches lighted, full armes, &c.

These marching forth of the Castle; 2. Companies of Imperialists, immediately take possession of it. That very evening were the Burgers called together, and commanded to bring their Armes to be laid up into the State-house. That night, was the neighbour village of *Esterich*, by the Imperialists burnt downe to the ground: divers houses also within *Leipsich*; (those especially next unto the Castle and river,) were plundered. The next morning, were such like insolencies

cies by found of Drumme, and upon paine of death, forbidden : so that the souldiers the next night committed no more such pillages.

The 24th. day, nothing of moment passed more within the Citie: excepting onely that the Magistrates and Burers were called together to pay downe 50000. Rixe-dollars, for a present contribution, and were charged to discover what goods they had of the *Ansburgers* or *Norimbergers*. The 3. or 4. next dayes, were all the buildings and watch-houses about the Castle, puld downe or slighted.

Other things
done by *Walen-
stein*, in the
time of the
siege of *Leip-
sich*.

In the meane time that the most of the Army, are at the siege of *Leipsich*: some other Partees are sent out from the Imperiall Leaguer at *Altemburg*, to reduce or plunder the countrey. Some advance out, as farre as *Torgau* upon the *Elb*, to intercept that Passe, if they had beene strong enough. But into that, had the Elector of *Saxony*, put 6. Companies of Colonell *Loefers* Foot, 11 troopes of Colonell *Tanbens* Horse, being also enquartered in the neighbour villages.

Hee takes
Weissensfels,

Mersburg
and
Naumburg.

October 19th. other Imperiall Partees made themselves Masters of *Weissensfels* upon the river *Sala*, due West of *Leipsich*: and of *Mersburg*, a little more to the Northward downe the same river, and upon the other side of it. This is an Appropriate Bishopricke, held by the Elector of *Saxony*: and here is a bridge over the *Sala*. Now also did *Holck* make his demands for *Tillyes* arrier of money, dne from *Naumburg*; and sent 36. Muskettiers into the Towne to be the safe-guards of it. From *Mersburg*, goe they with a strong Partee, unto *Hall*: still more Notherly downe the *Sala*. To this good towne, the Imperialists made this proposition; That it should furnish them with bread for 2000. men, but for 2. dayes onely: and for so long a time, admit their *Generalissimo* with his Retinue into their City, and accommodate him. The Burers obtaining respite till 6. a clocke the next morning; returned this answer: That whereas they had received Letters from *Holck*, that some of their Magistrates

strates should appeare before his *Generalissimo* at the Leaguer of *Altemburg*: they could not, till they knew his pleasure, furnish the demaundants with the bread desired of them.

Some few daies after, is the Colonell *Hatzfeld*, (brother to the expulsed Bishop of *Wurtsburg*) sent with 6. troopes of Horse unto this *Hall*; to propose these, (not propositions, now, but) commands, unto the Burgers.

First, That they should be well advised of the oath, which they had sometimes taken unto the Emperor.

Secondly, That presently they should send the bread before demanded.

Thirdly, That they should take in, and for 2. daies maintaine, the *Generalissimo*; with those that he should bring with him.

Fourthly, That they should precisely send him word, how strong the garrison in their Castle was, and how well provided.

The Burgers perceiving *Walenstein* to be in good earnest; open their Ports, immediately, unto the Imperialists: who presently fall to besieging of the Castle. But the *Swedes* (whom the King had left in it, presently after the Battell of *Leipsich*;) so well put them off; that they were forced to retire from it. Is admitted into *Hall* towne;
but is repulsed from the Castle

By this time, are the Towne and Castle of *Leipsich* taken; and the Army drawne together to *Altemburg*. Then had the *Generalissimo* a designe upon *Torgau*: from whence the Partee he had lately sent thither, had beene turned backe againe. By the taking of this *Torgau*; should he be master of a bridge over the *Elb-streame*: his way would bee opened into the *lower Lusatia*, and the *Marck* of *Brandenburg*: yea and the whole conquest of *Saxony*, made more faileable to him. His designe upon *Torgau* diverted. For this purpose, did the Imperiall Armie about the 26. or 27th. of October, remove it selfe unto *Eilenburg*, a towne upon the river *Mulda*, halfe way betwixt *Leipsich* and *Torgau*. To this place, came there an Expreffe from the Count

of *Pappenheim*, of his being hard at hand with his forces : whereupon the Imperiall Army returned backe againe to the Westward, (besides and beyond *Leipsich* :) and went and joyned with the *Pappenheimers* about *Mersburg*. *Pappenheim* being come, perswaded his *Generalissimo*, by and by ; to passe over the *Sala* into *Duringen* , with the maine of his Army ; and to goe and take in *Erfurt* , *Weymar* , and all the chiefe Passes and Posts, of that countrey. Hee wrought so upon him, chiefly with the faileablenesse of the Action; that there was no likelihood of opposition in those parts : Duke *William* of *Saxon-Weymar* having but 4. or 5000. men for the guard of all these townes ; and himselfe lying now sicke at *Erfurt*. A shrewd counsell ! seeing by the taking of this countrey, (and of the Passes thorow the *Duringer-Waldt* , after this) the backe doore had both beene barr'd and bolted ; by which the King of *Sweden* should have broken in to disturbe them. This was once *Walensteins* owne plot ; to have come, namely, this way into *Misnia*.

by the coming
of *Pappenheim*:

And his designe
upon *Erfurt*
defeated;

by the com-
ming of *Swe-*
den.

Walenstein cal-
ling his Army
together:

Whilest he therefore prepares to put this designe in execution, he hath word brought him, not onely of the King of *Swedens* being come to *Erfurt* , but of the advancing of the Van of his Army, towards the *Sala*. This was Duke *Bernard*, indeed, who was come a day or 2. before, to pursue the Reere of *Pappenheim* : as in the end of the *Kings Story* wee have told you. Hereupon, is the case altered : so that Tuesday the 30th. of October, went there out a Proclamation from the *Generalissimo* , That all Imperiall Officers and souldiers, should upon paine of death, repaire unto their Regiments and Colours in the Army : all Officers, the same evening, being by an Expreffe commanded out of *Leipsich*. Wednesday October 31. did the whole Imperiall Army advance from *Mersburg* unto *Ranstadt* , and *Lutzen*, betwixt *Mersburg* and *Leipsich* : whereabouts they quartered.

November the first, being Thursday, were there 3. Cornets of Horse sent backe into *Leipsich* , to be enquartered within the

the City: more Horsemen with their Baggage, the next day coming in after them. The *Soldat Suedois* affirms, that *Walenstein* and *Pappenheim* both, came into *Leipsich* to take a view of it, and to have it fortified for the place of their Retreat: but the *Iournall* or *Diarye* of these Actions, printed in the selfe same *Leipsich*, Novemb. 13, mentions no such matter. The same first of November, went there two Posts thorow *Leipsich*, unto *Gallas*; to cause him to hasten backe with his Forces: which I heare to bee about nine or ten thousand: though fiftene thousand say some Relations. And now were the *Leipsichers* enforced to pay in their fifty thousand Dollars: which October 24. they had agreed upon.

Vpon this first of November, likewise, did the Imperiall Army remoove towards *Weissensfels* upon the river *Sala*; eight *English* miles West of *Lutzen*. He sent also the Colonel *Swiss*, with his Regiment of Foot; and the Colonell *Bredaro* (so my *Spanish Relation* writes both their names) to take in *Naumburg*. The Horsemen leading the way, found the King of *Swedens* Vantgard there before them: so that *Bredaro's* Horse having some slight skirmish in the Suburbs, with the *Swedish*; returned againe to *Weissensfels*. These were those, which we called the 600. Imperiall Horse; who (as in the end of the Kings Story we told you,) were coming to take in *Naumburg*.

encamps at
Weissensfels.

And now for that wee can by no better meanes come by the motions on the Imperiall side, then by the discovery made by one of their owne: I will here, therefore, make use of my *Spanish Relation* written by a *Walsteiner*, and twice printed in *Liebone*.

The King (saies my Author) being passed the river, and lodged with his Army before *Naumburg*: the Imperiall Army marched up likewise in Battell array, before *Weissensfels*. The Kings men about this time, putting out some few troopes of Horse, there fell out some encounters betwixt them and the *Crabats*, but nothing to the purpose. The Kings men retiring suddenly, the Imperiall Army disposed

of it selfe, in the small villages about *Weissenfels*: newes being brought after a while, that the King did fortifie his Campe about *Naumburg*. *Walenstein* was once in the mind to have marcht presently, and to have encountred with the King of *Sweden*: but by reason that the ordinary way betwixt *Weissenfels* and * *Naumburg*, was but narrow and troublesome to march, because of the continued mountaines: hee onely sent out *Iulio Deodati* Quarter-master Generall, to goe with a good guard of *Crabats* about by the way of *Zeitz*: to take a view of a more commodious passage, and of the place and posture that the King was lodged at.

* twelve English miles distant.

Zeitz, is up the *Elster*, the river of *Leipsich*: 14 miles South-East of *Naumburg*: and 12 from *Weissenfels*.

But his Excellency the *Generalissimo* in an action of that importance, was first desirous to heare the advice of all his Colonels: for the getting whereof he employed the Count of *Pappenheim*. The Colonels dissuaded the encounter, upon these considerations.

First, of the Kings being already lodg'd and fortified, in a Post of so advantageous a situation.

Secondly, for that the time of yeere was so farre spent, and winter so neere comming on, that keeping the Field would be most incommodious for the Army.

Thirdly, and aboue all, for that tidings were now come apace, of Count *Henry Vanden Berghs* going towards *Cullen*: which would put a necessity upon the *Generalissimo*, to hasten towards * the diversion of the danger of that place, the losse whereof would be of so perillous a consequence. Vpon these reasons. (in which the Colonels with one consent agreed) it was concluded to bee unfit, and at that time un-usefull, that the King should be assaulted.

All these reasons served for the foundation of that resolution, which his Excellency tooke presently, for the sending away of the Count of *Pappenheim* towards the river of *Wefer*, with two Regiments of *Crabats* onely: to the end, that with those, being joyned to those Forces which hee had before left with the Count of *Groensfeld*, hee might succour

The Reasons why *Walenstein* assaulted not the King.
* But this of *Henry Vanden Berghs*, was but a false Alarm.

and why he sent away *Pappenheim*.

succour *Cullen*: and take order, withall, for the levying of some new troopes, in *Westphalia* and *Paderborn*.

In the meane time, was his Excellency resolved, to put his owne Army into Winter Quarters, about the river of *Sala*; as also in *Leipsich* and other places neere unto *Dresden*. All these divisions was he minded, so proportionably to have parted into Bodies of Horse and Foot; that each of them might be able to make resistance, till the next Quarters could well come in to their succours; should the King, perchance, attempt upon any one of them.

He resolves to put his men into their winter Quarters.

For the putting this designe in execution; his Excellency remoued his Army from about *Weissenfels*: sending the Count of *Pappenheim* with two Regiments of Foote, and some of Horse, from *Mersburg*, for to goe and take in *Hall* Castle: which was very strong, and guarded by 200. *Swedish*. *Pappenheim* had order likewise, for the lodging of some troopes thereabouts; according as hee should find things disposed

His Excellency, after his dispatch intending to march towards *Wesler*, came to lodge with the rest of his forces about *Luizen*. But apprehending no improbable suspicion, that the King would neuer suffer him, to take in that place; under the nose, as it were of his whole Army: and that by turning backe and passing over the river *Sala*, he might easily succour the Castle of *Hall*: hee resolved upon another purpose. Sending Colonell *Contreras* to take up *Altemburg*: his Excellency himselfe was resolved with the rest of his Army, to have gone (Northward) and lodge at *Mersburg*. By this disposing of himselfe, should he (at *Mersburg*) bee neere to backe *Pappenheim*: and by sending the other Colonels to *Luea* and *Altemburg*, should there have beene a space left in the middle, for the King to have marcht away, even from *Naumburg*, unto *Dresden*. By this cautelous forecast, might his Excellency have after followed the King with his maine strength, and either utterly have overthrowne him, or at least cut off his passage: and have shut him and all his forces, utterly out

Walenstein opens a gap, for the King to have marche away.

out of the Empire.

But the Kings conveniences, were measured by other designs, farre different from our suppositions. For He having understood of the sending away of *Pappenheim*, and the other 2. Regiments: resolved presently to come and set upon us. Infomuch, that the Count *Ridolfo Colorado*, being marched with the *Crabats* towards *Weissenfels*, to fetch off a Capitaine, who was left in the Castle with 100. souldiers: hee found the King * with his Army, already advanced farre upon his march, in sight of the City, towards *Lutzen*. Yet *Colorado* came so fit, and in so good a time; that he had leisure enough (notwithstanding the King had already sent some Muskettiers, to take in the Castle) to bring off the men with him. This having performed, *Colorado* still valiantly skirmishing, with his few Foote and *Crabats*; made his retreat unto *Ripach*, in sight of the Kings Army.

* This was the
5th of Novemb.

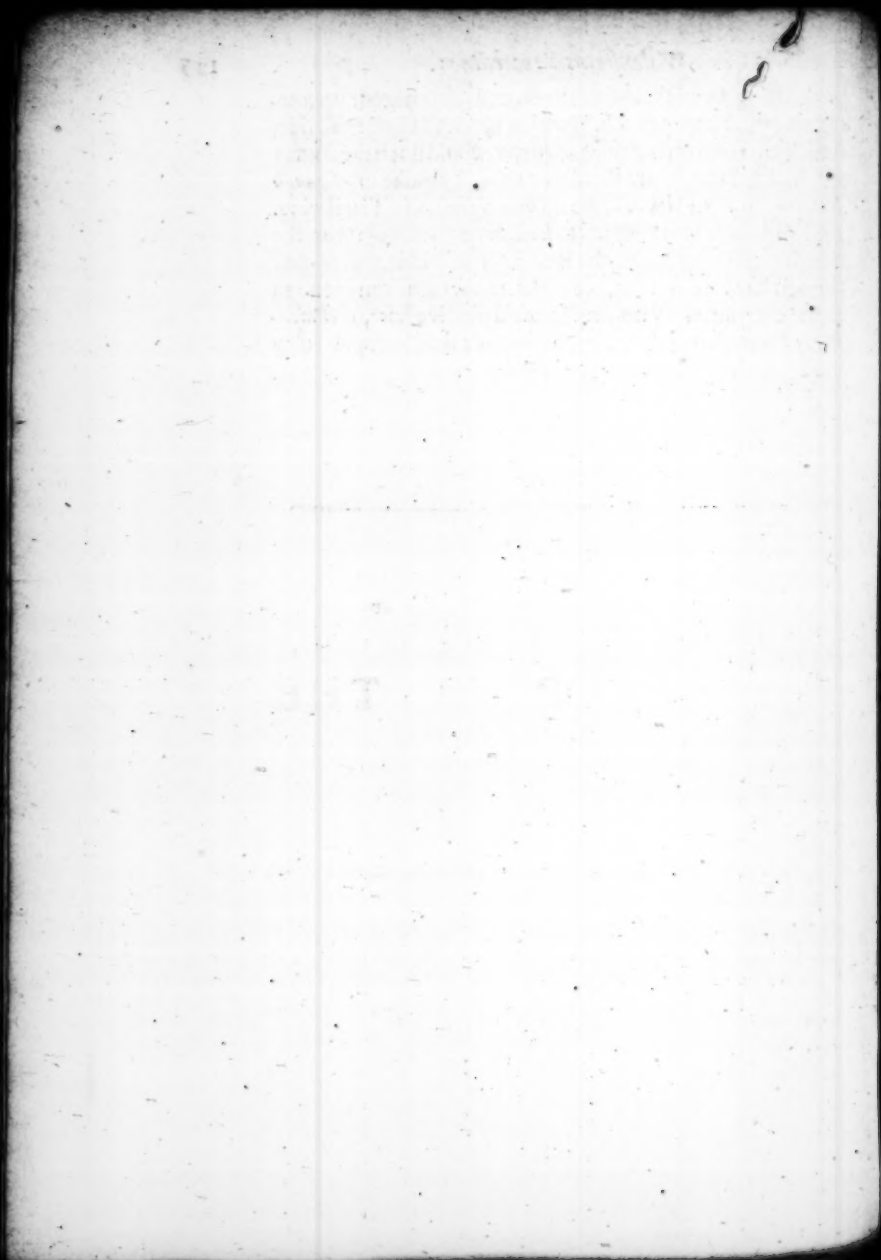
But the King
comes upon
him.

At this very time, had his Excellency, thorow the reiterated messages of *Colorado*, given the Alarm unto his Army, by the accustomed signe of shooting off 3. peeces of Ordnance: notwithstanding all which, it was even now night, ere the Regiments could have recovered to their place of Rendezvous, about *Lutzen*. The King by this time, was come from *Ripach*; and had taken up his lodging, about a league from thence. But Colonell *Holck* for all the darkenesse of the night, went about to put his forces into battaglia: and indeavoured by perpetuall skowtes, to discover the proceedings of the enemy. Neither wanted his Excellency any diligence, to dispatch messengers to the Count of *Pappenheim*: giving him notice of the Kings resolution; and a command therewithall, to returne backe with all his forces: and to advance, in the meane time, his Cavallery and Dragoones, with all speede possible. This message overtooke him, iust at that instant when he had entred *Hall*, and had clapt a Petard to the Castle gate: in which there was a *Swedish* Commander, with a garison of 200. souldiers. And thus farre are the very words of my *Spanish Relation*: wherein, though the defeate given by

Walenstein puts
his men into
array,
and
sends backe for
Pappenheim.

by the King the night before the Battell, be omitted: yet, certainly, there be many other particulars on the Imperiall side; which but from one of their owne, we could not have come at. And so farre, in my Readers names, I thanke my *Spanish Relater*: whom I have done no wrong unto, in Translating. And now have we brought *Walenstow* to the stake: for the morrow morning begins the Battell. This I adde, that *Gallas*, though he were sent for, yet could he not come time enough to the encounter. What may seeme defective here, of *Walensteins Proceedings*: just before the *Battell*: shall be supplied by and by, in the *description* of the *Battell*.

P THE





The famous *Battell of Lutzen*;
fought the sixt of *November 1632.*
Old Style.

Wherein you have the manner of the King
of *Swedens* death,

WITH

The overthrow and flight of the Imperiall Army
and their *Generalissimo*; the Lord *ALBERT*
walenstein Duke of *Fridland*, &c.



Ow we have heretofore waited upon
that incomparable Prince the King
of *Sweden*, from *Erfurt* unto
Naumburg; you may remember to
have read, *page 73.* of this Booke.
In which 3. daies march of his; there
was no such thing as the defeat of * *Page 813.*
the Count of *Merode* with 2. Regi-
ments; which the confident * *Le* The true name
of *Merode*, I
am told to be
Werningeroda:
of a towne by
Halberstat,
which he is
of Earle of
Soldat Suedois avoucheth. Nor was *Merode* at all in the Bat-
tell: whom he maketh to be slaine there. The onely suspi-
tion of any opposition, to be made by an enemy in all this
march, was; a newes brought his Majestie by the Boores, of
some

some 21. Cornets of *Crabats* under the command of *Isolani* and his Lieftenant-Colonel *Vorgage* (commonly to the *German* knowne by the name of *Vorgast*;) who had benee seene a day or two before, about the country. But these *Crabats* were onely heard of, not encountred with. *Pappenheim* was also marcht thorow: without ever so much as offering to take in *Erfurt*, much lesse of fetching any composition or contribution of 2000. dollars, as the same *Soldat Suedois* also affirmeth. Duke *William Weymar* was in the towne with 3000. men (voyced to be 5000) with *Papheims* small Army of 5000. Foote and 2500. Horse, was much to weake to have meddled withall: though, by the counsell he gave to *Walenstein* it appeareth; how good a minde he had towards it.

page 812.

Page 814.
Saint *Martins*
day is November 11th. Old
Stile: in all
Martyrologies
and *Romane*
Kalendars.

Two *English*
Gentlemen
taken prisoners
by the *Crabats*.

The King (as we told you) being arrived at *Naumburg* upon Thursday November the first, (*Old Stile*) which is not *Saint Martins* day, as the former * *French Author* mistaketh: tooke order to have his Army lodged in the Field, Towne, and Suburbs; even as we before told you. The same day the King went out upon a Partee, for discovering of the enemy. After him, that afternoon, went these 3. Gentlemen of our Nation: Lieftenant-Colonell *Francis Terret*, Sergeant-Major *Iohn Pawlet*, and Captaine *Edward Fielding*. These 3. going alone by themselves, to a forsaken village where there were 2. waies thorow it: (the King having gone the left hand way, and they now taking the right) fell into an ambush of the *Crabats*: the first and the last named of these three, were taken prisoners by 2. Rit-masters of the *Crabats*: one of them named *Potnick*, a *Greeke* Captaine. This adventure would I not overpass: for that these two Gentlemen being carried prisoners into the Imperiall Leaguer; kept under a guard in the Reere of the Army, all the day of the great Battell; and after hal'd unto *Pragne*, among the fleeing Imperialists: have had the meanes to enforme me, of what otherwise I could not have comne by. And thus much they having with much courtesie afforded mee; I could not but.

but quote them, for my better authority. They were that night carried unto *Weissenfels*, where *Walenstein*, then lay in the Castle of it. He sent the Count of *Pappenheim* to them, the same evening, to enquire of the King of *Sweden* strength, lodging, and intentions. The most of the Imperiall Foote, lay now in, and neere about this *Weissenfels*: 700. or 800. of them keeping guard upon the market-place. The Imperialists then gave out themselves to bee 50000. but it appeared to be spoken by a Figure, and to terrifie the King: for that they were not any thing neere that number.

To returne to the King; His Maiesty the next day (being Friday) in person visited all the *Avenues* and *Passes* about the towne: and went out againe with great Partees of Horse, to take some prisoners, by whom to learne something of the enemies. Finding that the Imperialists lay still, and that the *Passes* by which he should have gotten to them, were both dangerous and difficult: he returned at night againe, and gave order to entrench the Army before *Naumburg*, on the side towards *Weissenfels*. Till the Trenches could be made, the Army lay in the field: after which, the Foote were enquartered in the Towne and Suburbs, and the Horse in the next villages: some 2. or 3000. being onely left abroad all night, to watch the Trenches.

The King entrenches before *Naumburg*.

Vpon Sunday *September* fourth, came there a *Saxon* Boore to *Naumburg* unto the King, with a letter in his hand, to shew him. The letter was written by the Count *Colorado*, Sergeant-Major Generall of the Imperiall Army: unto an Officer of his, that lay with his Regiment at *Querfurdt*, on the Westerne side of the river *Sala* right against *Hall*, and 10. *English* miles from it. *Colorado* had enforced this Boore, to carry his letter: and the Contents of it were to this purpose. That the *Generalissimo* had sent the Count of *Pappenheim* to take in *Hall* Castle: That his men of *Querfurdt*, should march up to ioyne with *Pappenheim*: and that the next morning, the Imperiall Army was to part from *Weissenfels*. This letter

A letter of *Colorado* does brought unto the King.

seemes to have beene written upon the Satterday night: according to which date, it agrees rightly with *Walensteins* dis-camping from about *Weissenfels*; which was, indeed, done upon the Sunday, after that *Pappenheim* was dispatched towards *Hall Castle*.

A debate being had, whither it were best to fight, or not?

Vpon this Intelligence, His Maiesty the same day calls Duke *Bernard* and Sergeant-Major *Kniphausen*, to a counsell: propounding the great question unto them two; Whither, that in *Pappenheims* absence, the Duke of *Fridland* alone were to be set upon? Duke *Bernard* (I am enformed) was for the valiant *Affirmative*: That the advantage was good; and that seeing they knew not how long they should enioy the opportunity of this Division; *Walenstein* was presently to be attacked. But Major *Kniphausen*, was for the sober *Negative*: and that the enemy was not to be foughten withall. His reasons were two.

First, no man is to fight, but when hee is apparently stronger then his enemy: which the King at this time was not.

Kniphausen diswades it.

Secondly, No man is to attacke a stronger enemy, unlesse compeld by a pressing and unavoydeable necessity. That is, either to force his passage when he is hemmd in: or when hunger and want of victualls constrain him to it. Neither of which being the Kings case, there was no reason for present fighting.

Whereupon, the King resolving to goe joyne with Saxony.

Good reasons: which so farre prevailed with the King, that giving over all thoughts of present fighting, he was resolved to have left a garrison in *Naumburg*; and to have marcht with his whole Army to conjoyne with the Dukes of *Saxony* and of *Lunenbourg*.

* From Page 815. to Page 820. in my Edition.

And these reasons are different (I must confesse) from those flourishes of * *Le Soldat Suedois*; which take up five whole *Pages* in him. I dare pawne my morall and *historicall Faith* upon it, that his muster of reasons there, are but his owne *mistakings* or *Inventions*, and never by the King nor *Walenstein*, so much as dream'd of. You here for the Kings part,

part, have *Kniphauſens* two arguments: and for *Walenſteins*, you may pleaſe to take notice of *Coloredoes Letter*, and of the *Generaliffimo's* intentions, agreeable to this *Letter*; which we have before given you out of our * *Spaniſh Relator*. I * In *Walenſteins* will but confute my *Soldat* once more; and that for his con- *Proceedings*, founding a noble *Story*, which very next fellowes in him: and may ſeeme to croſſe my *Relation*. His miſtake, (I meane) of *Walenſteins* taking of *Leipſich*: which having beene done ten dayes before (full three weekes before *St. Martins* day) he now affirms to be but firſt attempted upon our ſecond of *November*. Theſe few *Failes* have I fairely noted in him; to diſ-abuſe my Countrey-men: to whom I heare him recommended, for the *French Tacitus*.

Pardon my digreſſion. The King being thus reſolved; ſends Poſt unto the *Elektor* of *Saxony*, to enforme him of his purpoſes, and to lay the plot for their uniting. The King deſired him, to come to *Eilenburg*, upon the Weſt of the river *Mulda*, 14. miles Weſt of *Torgau*, where the Duke then lay: the King himſelfe reſolving that he would advance to meet him unto *Pegau* firſt; which is upon the *Elſter*, 14. miles to the South of *Leipſich*: and to *Grim*, afterwards; upon the river *Mulda*; 18. miles Eaſt of *Pegau*, and 14. to the South of *Eilenburg*. True it is, that the *Elektor* of *Saxony* lay at *Torgau* at the ſame time, with an Army of 4000. Foot, and as many Horſe: whereof 2000. Foot, and 1500. Horſe, were the Duke of *Lunenburghs*.

goes from
Naumburg to-
wards Pegau:

to joyne with
the Duke of
Saxony.

Walenſtein the ſame Sunday, drew out from *Weiffenſels*: leaving a Captaine onely with his hundred men, for the keeping of the Caſtle. Thence marcht *Walenſtein* unto *Lutzen*, *Walenſtein* goes two *Dutch* Leagues to the Eaſt of it: where, and in the *to Lutzen*, Dorps round about it; his whole Army enquartered.

The next day being Munday, *November 5th*, the King according to his former reſolution, parted out of *Naumburg*, to goe towards the Duke of *Saxony*: leaving the towne and gariſon, under the command of the *Saxon* Colonel *Vitzdum*. For the more lightneſſe and expedition in his march; he

The Battell of Lutzen.

he commanded his Baggage to stay with the garrison still in *Naumburg*, for a day or two: being, he thought but onely to have gone and ioyned with the Elector of *Saxony*, and then to have returned againe to *Naumburg*. He supposing, withall, that *Pappenheim* being now absent, and *Walensteins* men not together, he should not be disturbed in his march: about 4. before day-light (the Drummes having beaten ever since one a clocke,) on the Munday morning, advances towards *Pegan*. The King having notice, of *Walensteins* forsaking *Weissenfels*: sends by the way, to take in that Castle. The hundred men that *Walenstein* had left in it, did *Colorado* come so timely to fetch off; that he had done it, a very little, before the *Svedes* comming

The King having notice by the way, of *Walensteins* scattered lodging.

In the middle of his march, about ten a clocke, the same forenoone, came there some Gentlemen ryding, and some Boores running to the King; with advice that the Imperialists were lying still in severall Dorps and Villages hard by, about *Lutzen*: without any intelligence at all, of the Kings being in motion. This the King being enformed of: convokes presently his high Officers to a Councell of Warre, to advise what were best to be determined. His Majesty, even then, (and then first) put on the resolution for fighting: openly speaking it out, *That he now verily supposed, that God had given his enemies into his hand.* Hô! brave occasion, sayes the Duke of *Saxon-Lawenburg*. Now God bleffe us (say divers great Officers) tis a happy opportunity. And truly so it was: for divers prisoners (even then brought in, by the Kings Partees, and by the Boores) being by the King examined whither they had any Alarm in their Quarters, of his marching: freely confessed that they had none, And so much was evident enough, for that they were now surprised in their Quarters. Thus thought all the Officers: all being resolved to fall on presently. And, indeed, there was great reason for it: for could the Kings Army have safe in amongst those villages; he had given a *Camisado* to severall of their Quarters at once; have cut them off singly: for that they could

resolves to fall upon his Quarters.

could never have comne together, to unite their Forcés, or have succoured one another. This was evident.

And thus neere were 100000 good mens hopes and wishes, of having arrived to the very highest of their expectations: nothing in the whole world, appearing to be betwixt the King of *Swedens* desires & his absolute victory; but the length of the way onely. The Gentlemen and Boores that brought him the Intelligence, told him *Lutzen* was but hard by: which the King was in good hope of, for that He was even then in sight of it. The Army advanc'd stoutly, and doubled their march upon it: but their legges found it a longer way then their eyes; it being a sad *Campaigna*, full eight *English* miles of ground to *Lutzen*. Besides all this, was there a filthy Passe in the way, at a Bridge over a River; (where but one or two men could goe over a-breast) which hindred the Army full two houres going. By this hinderance, was it even night, before the Army could get within two *English* miles of *Lutzen*: so that had the King (as he said) but two houres more of day-light; *Walenstein* (doubtlesse) had beene taken *Sleeper*: had beene ex-*Imperator*'d, and un-*Generalissimo*'d. But God that is both *Ancient of Dayes*, and *Lord of Hosts*, had otherwise disposed of it: He had made the way so long, and the time so short; (no doubt) for a better purpose.

of which victory; the length of the way, and shortnesse of the day; defrauded him.

This ill-favoured Passe, was within two *English* miles of *Lutzen*: and in the Village that belonged to it, were there two Imperiall Regiments of Horse (one of them *Crabats*) enquartered. These having a little notice of the Kings coming; had gotten upon their Horses, and taken up a high hill on the other side of the Passe, next to *Lutzen*. They made as though they would have disturbed the Kings Passage; but they did not: the Kings Foot marching fairely over, with some Horse amongst them. Some of the Kings Foot, were still marching over, till it was darke night, or within it. Those that got over first, entertained a slight skirmish with the Imperiall Horsemen: without any losse to the King, killing some 50. or 100. of them, and taking one *Crabats*

He rowtes two Regiments of the enemies.

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Ensigne.

The Battell of Lutzen.

Ensigne. And now the King taking another hill, (right against that, which the Imperialists possessed) he from thence let flye some peeces of Ordnance among them : which caused them to take the benefit of the night, with some confusion to march off in.

This is that Ensigne, so much spoken of: which had *Fortune* and the *Imperiall Eagle*, depainted upon it. But it is no such raritie, for that most (or all) of the *Crabats* Ensignes, have the *displayed Eagle* for their *bearing*: This was presented to the King for a faire *Omen*, as if He had already now conquered, both *Fortune* and the *Eagle*. But the King (tis reported) tooke no great content at it: being sorry (I beleeve) for that the night had prevented him, for taking more of them.

and is saine to
sit downe till
the morning.

And here the King being surprized with the darkenesse; was forced to sit downe in the open fields, with his Army: himselfe lying in his Coach, as other Officers did that had them. Here lay he all night in *Battaglia*: every Regiment lying downe, in the same order that they had marched, with their Armes by them. The Pikemen, they stucke up their Pikes an-end by them: and every *Rott*, (that is every sixe) of Musketters bringing their Muskets to their *Rottmaster*: hee set them right up with their mouthes upward, and bound them together with a peece of Match: where they stood ready at hand, for all occasions.

The Imperiall Army was in a terrible *Hubbub*, at the Kings comming over the *Passe*: for now was the Alarm sent in hot, to all the severall Dorps and Quarters, even from *Lutzen* unto *Hall* and *Leipsich*. Order upon paine of death was given, for every man with all speed possible; to repaire towards *Lutzen*, to their *Generalissimo*. Presently upon this, began all the Regiments to draw together; some of which, were all night upon their marches: and some Horse that were Quartered very farre off, being not able to reach up, till ten a clocke next morning. And thus (even then) did the mist so long keepe off the King next morning, till his enemies

enemies could be made strong enough for him.

As every Regiment came in, so were they put into order : which continued all night long ; as the two *Englishe* Gentlemen (then prisoners there) observed. About ten at night, did *Walenstein* begin to thinke of the places most advantageous, for the planting of his Ordnance : some of which, having mounted upon the *Wind-mill-hills* ; he then began to cast up a trench of earth about them. All night and next morning, his Dragoones and Pioners, wrought with their Spades about the High-way ; and to make the Ditches, or Draine by it, serve them for a Brest-worke, to lodge their Muskettiers in. And this was their worke too, all the next misty morning ; which fatall weather gave them also the more respite, to recover their feares and wearinesses ; and to fortifie themselves against their unconquered enemy. And thus was the night (the last night to some thousands) overpassed.

The King now over the Passe, had put himselfe into a necessity of fighting : and being thus engaged, the sooner hee fought, the better : for that his enemy should be the lesse provided for him. The *Bride*, therefore, more long'd not for her wedding morning, nor slept lesse : then the King that night did. Tuesday, (that fatall sixth of November) at last began to draw neere : and alas ! it came all too early. A gentle mist, as if foredooming how blacke a day it would be ; did his good will to have kept it night still : and the Sunne, as if his great eye had before-hand over-read the fatalitie of the following day, seemed very loath to have begun it. So sweet a correspondency (though secret) and so sensible a compassion, betwixt Gods more noble instruments, there is ; that the day had rather have beene no day, then become *Gustavus* his last day : and the Sunne had rather have conceal'd his owne glory, then his fellow *Gustavus* beames, should bee extinguished. But the martiall King, even forcing himselfe to awaken Time, and hasten on mortalitie, would needs make these clocks and larums of the warres, his fatall Drummes, to beate two houres before day-light. *Arme, Arme, Repaire*

The Battell of Lutzen.

to your Colours, keepe your Orders, stand to your Armes: these were the morning summons, to awaken the heartie souldiers; from a cold, a hard, and an earthly lodging. The Army was easie to be put in order, for that the most part of it, had laine, and slept in *Battaglia*. One while, was the King purposed to have advanc't, and falne on presently: but the warre being *Gods cause*; he would, like *David* and *Himselfe*, first aske counsell of the *God of Battells*: and at least recommend *His owne cause* unto *Him*. The Drummes having beaten the first March, Hee caused prayers to be read to himselfe, by his owne Chaplaine *Doctor Fabricius*: and where there were *Ministers* at hand; the same was done thorow every Regiment of the Army.

The morning proved so misty, that it was not possible to see which way to march: nor where to finde an enemy to strike at. And this (unluckily) staid the Kings thoughts, from advancing presently. This was a fogge of advantage, unto *Walenstein*: who purposing but to stand his ground; (which by working all night about the ditch and high-way, his Pioners had made more troublesome to be assaulted) was now resolved; that if he must fight he would there abide the first shooke: and no way to secke the Battell, or to moove towards his Adversary.

About 8. a clocke, the mist brake up: and (but for one mischance in it) promised as faire a day, as ever was 6th. of November. As it began to cleere, the King tooke occasion to encourage up his souldiers: and going to his owne Subjects first, he to this purpose bespake them. My deare brethren; carry your selves bravely this day: fight valiantly, a Gods name, for your Religion, and for your King. This if you doe, Gods blessing, and the peoples praises, shall be your guerdon: and you for ever shall even be laden, with an honourable and a glorious memoriall: nor will I forget to reward you nobly. If you play the Pultrons, I here call God to witnesse, that not a bone of you shall ever returne againe into *Sweden*.

The Kings
Orations;

to the *Swedes*;

To

To the *Germane* Troopes, this was the *Oration*. O you my Brethren, Officers and fellow-souldiers of the *Germane* nation! I here most earnestly intreate and beseech you, to make full tryall of your valours this one day, against your enemies. Fight manfully against them this day, both with mee, and for me. Be not faint-hearted in the Battell, nor for any thing discouraged. Set me before your eyes, and let me be your great example: even me, who dreadlesly for your cause, am here ready to adventure both life and blood, to the uttermost of any danger. This if you doe, there is no doubt but that God himselfe, will from Heauen reward you with a most glorious victory: of which both your selues and long posterity, shall plentifully enjoy the benefits. This if you doe not, farewell for ever to your Religion: and your liberties must for ever remaine enslaved.

These Orations of the Kings, being from both nations, with a horride clashing of their Armour, and with cheerefull vowes and acclamations, answered; the King as cheerefully then replied. And now, my hearts, let us on bravely against our enemies: and God prosper our endeavours. Sprightfully withall casting up his eyes to Heaven, hee with a loud voyce thither sent up this forcible ejaculation. *Iesu, Iesu, Iesu*, The Kings vouchsafe thou this day, to be my strong helper; and give me courage this day to fight for thy glory, and the honour of thy great Names sake. This Praier (according to other Relations) I find that he sometimes thus varied (for he led on, praying:) O my Lord *Iesu*, Sonne of God! blesse these our Armes, and this dayes Battell, for thine owne glory, and holy names sake. This said, he drew out his sword, which waving over his head; hee advanced forward, the formost of all his Army.

His royall person was that day waited upon, by Duke Francis Albers of Saxon-Lawenburg; and by some of his Maiesties owne neere servants. The Lord Craisham also, Great Master or Marshall of his Maiesties Household; had the leading of a body of Reformadoes: which were especially

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commanded

commanded, to waite upon the Kings owne person. And amongst these, were our *English* and *Scottish* Gentlemen and Officers, whom (as I have before told you) the King had at *Schlenking* heretofore Reformed. Of this body, (which consisted of severall nations) were there still 3. or 4. close about the King, ready to be sent with orders, up and downe the Army: who were still supplied by *Craillham*. The King was that day attired, (as usually he was accustomed) in a platne Buff-coate, and un-armed. Some report, that a tenderesse he had in his shoulder, where a Musket bullet had a long time stucke: would not suffer him to endure armour. And therefore when hee was this morning desired to put on his Corset, he said *The Lord God was his Armour*; and refused it.

His Watch-word.

The Kings *Watch-word*, was the same which had beene of so good an *Omen*, before at *Leipsich*, *GOTT MIT VNS*: God with Vs. The Generall *Walensteins* being now the same, which *Tillyes* then was; *IESVS MARIA*. This was the Kings order of Embattailing. His whole Army, (which now, after he had left some at *Naumburg*, and at *Weissenfels*, was betweene 17 and 18000. men) he devided into 2. *Fronts*; (for so I take leave to call them,) and each of these, into the *Wings* and *Battell*, with their *Reserves*. Each of the *Wings*, were composed of fixe severall Regiments or Squadrons of Horse, lined with five severall *Bodies* of Commanded *Muskettiers*: every one of which *Bodies*, had 2. small *Drakes* or *Fighting Peeces*, which advanced playing still before them. The *Battell* in each *Front*, consisted of foure *Brigades* of Foot: a *Reserve* of Foot, being betwixt the two middle *Brigades* of the first *Front*; and a *Reserve* of Horse hindmost of all, betwixt the two middle *Brigades* of the *Reere* or *Second Front*. Before each *Brigade*, march fixe Peeces of greater Ordnance: and thus much the first sight of the *Figure* shewes you.

His Order.

The *Right Wing*, markt with the Letter *I*, was led by the King himselfe: whose place is to be seene just over the said letter, and number 6. neere to the first *Brigade*. The five *Bodies*

Bodies of Commanded Muskettiers, all marked with the number 7. were commanded by the Count of *Eberstein*. The Horse Squadrons of the *left Wing*, were committed unto the glory of the Day, Duke *Bernard of Saxon-Weymar*: whose place is at the letter K, over the number 12. by the fourth *Brigade* of Foot-men. The five Bodies of Foote in this *left Wing*, marked with 13: were the charge of the Colonell *Gersdorff*: The *Battell* made up of the foure *Brigades* of Foot, was commended to the *Swedish* Count of *Neeles*, Colonel of the Kings *Life-guards*. The foure Foot *Brigades* of the *Second Front* or *Rear*, were Commanded by *Dedo Kniphausen*, *Sergeant-Major Generall* of the whole Army: to whose faire Conduct, the Victory is also much beholden. The Horse of the *Right Wing* were entrusted to Colonel *Claus Conrad Zorn*, of *Bulach*: by which name of *Bulach* hee is commonly knowne. The Horse of the *Left Wing*, were committed to Prince *Ernest* of *Anhalt*. The *Reserve* of Foote marked with 37. was commanded by Colonel *Iohn Hinderfien*, a *Scottish* Gentleman: and the *Reserve* of Horse, marked with 38. by Colonel *Oeme*, of the *Palatinate*.

The Imperiall Army, had his Excellency the *Generalissimo*, *Walenstein* thus ordered. He first drew it all up into one mighty *Front*: order. which he then devided into three Bodies. His *Right Wing* of Horse, marked with the letter A, (whose end was neere the Towne of *Lutzen*,) was committed to the Count *Rodolfo Colorado*, that day *Sergeant-Major Generall* of the Army. This *Wing*, had also its *commanded Muskettiers*: besides some others that were lodged in the gardens, by the towne afore-said. This *Wing* having also the advantage of the *Windmills* and their *hills*, by the towne-side: made use of those naturall Batteries, for the planting of 9. peeces of Ordnance: the *Mills* and *Millers house*, serving them also for a good shelter. The *Battell* or *Middle-Ward*, markt with the letter B, was commanded by the Duke of *Fridland* himselfe, whose place was said to be in the head of that great Regiment of *Piccolomini's*.

mines Horſe, which is in the very middle of the Foot-Regiments, marked with 49. The *Left Wing*, oppoſite to the *Right Wing*, and markt with the letter C: was led by Colonel *Hendrick Holck*; newly made *Lieutenant-Felt-Maſhall* unto *Pappenheim*: who but commanded, till *Felt-Maſhall Pappenheim* ſhould be come into the Field.

The Figure
deſcribed.

All this Imperiall Order of embatteling, I have preſented in one mighty *Front*: ſo, namely, as it appeared to the Kings people, and to him that tooke the *Figure* of it: ſince, (very largely) cut and imprinted in *Copper*, by *John Iaacob Gubler* of *Leipſich*: who alſo by the Kings owne directions, and the deſcription of *Oluſſ Hans* his Maſtities *Enginier*, laſt yeere ſet forth the *Figures* of the *Battell* of *Leipſich*. And the manner of the ſame *Figures* of the *Battell* of *Leipſich*, wee have in this alſo followed. We know, that betwixt every *Brigade* of Foote, there ſhould be ſo much roome left, as that another *Brigade* might advance up betweene: the diſtance betweene them, being the breadth of one of them. But our *Cutter* (plainly) to make his *Figures* fairer, hath ſtraightened the diſtances. And this (I hope) is mended, by telling of. The 2. *Reſerves* alſo, were to be drawne up betweene the 2. *Brigades* that ſtand next before them: but theſe wee have left behind, as *Oluſſ Hans* in the *Battell* of *Leipſich* alſo did: which, I ſuppoſe, was there done; for diſtinctions ſake to the vulgar beholder, every ſouldier knowing the true place of them. The explication of the ſeverall letters and numbers, ſhall follow by it ſelfe, immediately after the *Figure* of the *Battell*.

Having thus deſcribed the *Order*: the *Field* of the *Battell* would next be conſidered of. The King had a North-Eaſterly march of it, from *Naumburg* towards *Lutzen*: ſo that the riſing Sunne was ſomething within a while, favourable. The wind, alſo, (that little that was) blew fairely for him: ſo that the King very ioyfully ſpake it, I thanke God I have both wind and Sunne to favour me.

The Countrey was a goodly vaſt levell and *Campagna*, as
Come-

Come-lands could be; even, as farre almost as the eye could roave over. And yet was the place of Battell subiect to as many accidents (and *Walenstein* was Master of them all) as a plaine countrey almost might be. The King, right in his way of advancing, had a wet ditch (made by hand) called the *Flossgraben*, cut traverse to him: so that hee was faine to edge about to the Right, with his whole Army; to passe by it: and then to edge as much to the left againe, to put himselfe right before the enemy. The Imperiall Army was embatteled all along beyond a broad high-way, which led from *Lutzen* unto *Leipsich*. On this side of it, was there a kinde of broad draine or ditch: which served for bounding and saving the ploughed lands; and to keepe withall, the High-way the dryer. This had *Walensteins* Pioners bestowed some cost upon: so that putting some commanded Muskettiers downe into it, it served them as well as a *Trench* or *Brest-worke*. This was so troublesome for the Kings Horsemen, that many of them were overturned and left behind, in the getting over to charge *Walenstein*: for indeed there were divers gaps thorough it, which the Horse iustling for, overturned one another. The ground also, behind the ditch, had two little rifings: and those did *Walenstein* make choise of, for the planting of those Peeces, marked with the letter *F*, in the *Figure*. That Part of the High-way also towards *Lutzen* had an old *Trench* or dry ditch, drawne to it: which being nothing of it selfe, but a *Boundary* for lands, that also did *Walenstein* put Muskettiers into: which served them like the High-way ditch, for a *Parapet* or *Brest-worke*. This is markt with the letter *H*. A pretty distance beyond the High-way, neere unto the Towne of *Lutzen*, (markt with *D*,) were there 3. or 4. *Wind-mills*: amongst which, the letter *E* standeth. Behind these, had *Walenstein* lodged some Muskettiers: and the *Mill-hills* served as naturall *Batteries* for him to plant nine peeces of Ordnance upon. Betweene the *Mills* and the towne, were there divers gardens with mudd-walles round about them: and in these also, (in one of them 300. being after found

The field described.

Advantageous for *Walenstein*.

Gallobelgium
Figure of the
Battell, hath
omitted this
Trench. He hath
also turned the
High-way
wrong.

R

dead)

dead) had he caused Muskettiers to be placed. *Leipsich* Highway, as it went sloaping along: so had he caused his men to bend and hang towards it.

And now to the Action. The Sunne having by 9. a clocke cleerely dispeld the Fogge; it prov'd as promising a morning, as ever was 6th. of November: and that commendation should our *Almanacks* have hereafter given it, but for one mischance in it. And now the King shot his *losing* or *warning-peece*; and so advanced.

The King
advances.

Being passed the *Floss-graben*: He left also the Dorp of *Chursitz* behind him: betwixt which and his Army, he left his Coach and Ammunition-wagons: of which there were not above 100. at most: the King having left the rest at *Naumburg*, being now come hither, with no purpose of fighting. The King advanced, till hee came with the end of his *Right-Wing*, within Musket shot of a little wood: having all the way a full view of the Imperiall Army.

Walensteins
numbers much
more then the
King.

That *Walenstein* much over-powred the King in numbers; may appeare by the mighty long *Front* that he put out; full 2. *Englisch* miles, from one *Wings* end to another. This is also to be considered: that *Walensteins* (and all the old) *Discipline*; is to march 10. deepe in *File*: whereas the King, was no more but 6. deepe: of *Foot* (I meane:) and of *Horse*, but 3. or 4. deepe: according as the *Brigades* were either stronger or weaker. Besides this, that *Walensteins Files* were all the way almost as deepe againe; his *Ranks* also were in *Front* so much longer: that the King was faine to send for *Bulach*, and all the *Squadrons* of Horse, from the *Right Wing* of the *Reere* or *second Front* to imp out his Feathers at the end of his *Right Wing*: for feare that *Walenstein* should surround him. These *Squadrons* when Generall-Major *Kniphausen* missed out of their places; hee sent a Gentleman to his Majesty: to know whether hee had otherwise employed them? The King was at the same time, likewise; sending the Duke of *Saxon-Lawenburg* unto *Kniphausen*; to tell him, that he would but use them in that first charge; and then re-

The King en-
forced to
lengthen out
his Right
Wing.

returne

turne them backe againe to their *Order*. The Duke meeting with the Gentleman, and telling him thus much : both then returned to their places.

The King wondred not a little at it, when he saw how faire a *Clew Walenstein* spread : affirming to those about him; That if he had any *Seconds* behind his first *Front* ; he could not iudge him to be lesse then 30000. True it is indeed, that *Walenstein* had given out *Proviand Commissions* for 40000 and sometimes for 50000 people : but yet had hee not so many fighting men : for that there were at least 10000 women, servants, children, and such Hang-byes, belonging to the Army; which are to be discounted. Besides this, it is to be considered, that *Walenstein* had but one *Front*, and the King two, so that we may well allow *Walenstein* to be 20000. in the *First Front*: at the very first ordering of the *Battell*. After which, accounting those that were still comming in, even till 10. a clocke; and *Pappenheims* Horse and Dragooners, which came in about one or two a clock; and his Foot, thought to make the second fierce charge in the night : and then (doubtlesse) these could not be fewer then 10. or 12000. which would have made up in all, full 30000. fighting men, had they beene altogether.

The Armies being comne within Cannon shot; the great Ordnance, began to play one upon another, terribly. The Aire roar'd, and the earth trembled : and those manly hearts that feared not dying, were yet very loath to have no more play for their lives, then to be beaten to pieces, with the bullet of a Cannon. And here had *Walenstein*, surely, a great advantage over the Kings Army : for his Ordnance being all ready planted upon steady and fixt Batteries : the Canoniers traversed their Peeces, and delivered their bullets with more aime, then the Kings men could possibly : who gave fire in motion still, and advancing. His Majesties Cannon, ever as a peece was discharged; was there left to be brought after: the Army still advancing, and marching away from it. Plainely, the King liked not this sport : for that the Imperiall Cannon did his men far more spoile and execution ; then he pos-

The Battell begun with great Ordnance.

sibly could againe returne them. Seeing therefore no good to be done this way, hee causes his Army to advance upon the very mouth of the Cannon, and to charge towards the *High-way*, and to beate out those Muskettiers, that were lodged in it.

The Imperiall Army stood their ground, all this time, expecting that the fiercenesse of their enemies charge, would indifferently well be abated, by that time they had beaten out those Muskettiers: and had put themselves out of order and breath, with scrambling over the ditches. And indeed the place being almost mans height, a many of the Kings Horsemen, were there left tumbling up and downe: but of the rest that gat over, this was the order of their Charge. The *commanded Muskettiers*, and the *Foot* of the *Swedes Brigade* having cleared the *High-way*: the whole *Front* advanced to charge together.

The order of
the first charge.

This whilest they were doing, the little *Drakes* or *Field-Pieces*, (2. of which marcht before every Body of Muskettiers, that lined the Horse of the *Wings*) were first fired: and the Muskettiers at the same time giving their first *Salute*: the Horse then charged home upon the Imperiall Horse; by the *Drakes* and Muskettiers, something before disordered. This order was held in the first charge, by the whole *Front* of the Army: but I must now leave the *Battell* and *Left Wing* engaged, to speake of the *Right Wing* first, where the King in person commanded.

The King at his first advancing, having observed whereabouts in the Imperiall *Left Wing*, (now opposite to him) the *Crabats* were marshalled; and where the *Cuirassiers*, (who were compleatly armed in blacke harnessse *Cap à pied*) he calls the *Finnish* Colonel *Stolhanse* to him, (as tis likely he did other Colonels, as he rode along:) and pointing to the enemy. *As for those fellows* (meaning the *Crabats*) *I care not for them*, saies the King: *but charge me those blacke fellows soundly: for they are the men that will undoe us*. Thus much did *Stolhanse* himselve oftentimes, (and at table) relate unto divers

The Kings
speech of the
Imperiall
Cuirassiers.

divers Gentlemen of our Nation : Some of which tell the Kings words from *Stolhanſes* mouth, this way. *Charge mee thoſe blacke fellows ſoundly: for tis prophesied that they ſhall be the ruine of me.* But this word *prophesie*, others confeſſe that they heard not.

The King fought at the head of the *Smolanders* Squadron. Himſelfe was ſtill the formoſt: with his piſtoll in one hand, and his ſword in the other; and when his piſtolls were diſcharged, laying on, and ſaſhing with his ſword: and the enemy giving fire in his face, and laying at him againe, freely. Some have complained, that onely with the *Smolanders* Squadron, which you ſhall find at the number 6. and the *Oſtro Gothes*, at the number 5. or at moſt the *Vplanders*, at the number 4. did now onely advance and charge the enemy. Perchance theſe 3. now gat the ſtart, and were ſomething forward, &c. then the 3. Squadrons of the *Ingermanlanders*, the *West-Goths* and the *Finlanders*: whom you ſee in their orders and numbers, 3. 2. 1. towards the end of the *Wing*. Theſe 3. Squadrons, indeed, fell not on at the ſame place with the King, but advanced directly upon the faces of thoſe 3. Imperiall Regiments of *Curiaſſiers*, which you ſee right before them, at the numbers 56. 57. 58. Nor were they blamed after the *Battell*, for any ſlackneſſe or not charging: for that the King (as we told you) had ordered *Stolhanſe* to charge theſe *Curiaſſiers* ſoundly. And as for *Bulach* and thoſe Squadrons of his, now placed to the right hand of *Stolhanſe* and his *Fins*, beyond number 1, they were in the very beginning of the encounter ſo diverted, that they could not charge right forward as the King expected. And for that, this is the true reaſon. That Regiment of *Crabats* in the very end of the Imperiall *Left Wing*, which you ſee in the *Mapp*, at the number 59. did in the very beginning of the charge, wheele about betwixt the Wood, and the end of the Kings *Right Wing*; and there endeavour to fall upon the *Swediſh* Ammunition-Waggons, in the *Reere* of the Army. Theſe *Crabats* would have made a foule pudder among the ammunition, and have blowne

The couragiousneſſe of the King.

The *Crabats* wheeling about upon the Kings Waggons.

are beaten off
by Bulach.

up most of the powder, doubtlesse; had not *Bulach* had an eye to them. He giving a home charge upon them; beat them off from the Wagons, for the present: but the *Swedish* Colonel facing it about, to returne to his owne place againe, was by the *Crabats* charged upon the croopes, and put to some disorder. And this disarray is easie enough to be beleaved: for that the manner of the *Crabats* fighting, being but for a spirit, and in no good order: whosoever will answer their charge, must necessarily doe it in disorder too: or else they cannot follow the *Crabats*; to doe any good upon them. And iust now, fell the mist againe: which did this good in that part of the *Battell*, that this disorder among the *Swedish* Horse, was not discerned; and so no advantage taken of it.

In this *Interim*, yea iust at this instant; was the King slaine: You see so loath I have been to come to it; that I have wheeld about in my *Relation*, after the *Crabats*: rather then too suddenly to strike the Readers hearts dead, with the same bullets and wounds, that the King now died withall. But I must come to it.

The King being wounded
in the fight:

The King (as was said) out of the greatnesse and heate of his courage; having made a home charge upon those iron-men, the *Curiaffiers*, according as himselfe had spoken to *Stolhanß*; he was there overlaid with numbers: for his men being in danger to be hembd in, both by them and *Piccolomini*, whose Regiment now also charged: were faine to giue ground, and to retire towards their owne *Bodies* againe. There did the King receive a shot in the left *Arme*: which he not feeling enough at first, thought it had beene nothing; and would needs have led on still. But perceiving by and by his royall blood to gush out abundantly, and that part of the bone was withall broken: hee thus calls to Duke *Francis Albert* of *Saxon-Lawen-burg*: *Cousin* (saies the King) *I am sorely wounded, helpe me to make my retreat*. This whilest the Duke, and those that were with the King and him, were about to doe, and were already turned, (the Squadrons that the

the King charg'd withall, being now also put unto the retreat) there came up to them an Officer or Cavalier of the *Curiaffiers*, who too well knew the King and observed him, when his face had beene towards him. This *Curiaffier*, coming behind the King, as he was now retreating; *This is the right Bird*, (saies he) with his pistoll at the same time, shooting him thorow the Bodie. But the *Curiaffier* (though this were no sufficient satisfaction for such a Kings life) did not carry it away so: for that *Luchaw* who was *Stall-master*, (*Master of the Horse*) unto the Duke of *Lawenburg*; shot him dead presently: that no man might ever live to glory, how hee had slaine the King of *Sweden*.

in his retreat
shot thorow
the Body.

He slaine, that
shot the King.

The King was held up in his saddle a very little while: but the *Curiaffiers* charged so fiercely in upon the *Swedish*, that they were not able to bring off the dying King, who fell presently. And plyed he was with bullets, even in that interim: his Horse being also shot in the shoulder about the necke; who ranne homewards to the *Swedish Bodies*, without his royall Master: even very lately, the soule of all those *Swedish Bodies*.

The King falls.

And inst now, fell the mist: the Sunne, who before shined so brightly, (even almost from the height of his *Meridian*, it being now past a 11. a clocke) on the sudden muffling up his face in a mourning Cloud: as if not able to looke upon, the falling King of *Sweden*. The Duke of *Saxon-Lawenburg* seeing the King fall, and his men beaten backe, gave all for lost presently: shifting himselfe withall out of the Battell, unto *Weissenfels*. This made him to be so ill spoken of, thorow the whole Army, and to be censured for worse then cowardise: the souldiers not sparing to charge treacherie upon him. But this scandall, those that better knew him have thus excused. The troth is, that he had beene at *Vienna* till the end of January before: had since that time served the Imperialists; and was but a fortnight or three weekes since, come into the Kings Army. So that hee fearing all lost, gatt him out.

Saxon Lawenburg gets him out of the Battell.

out.

out of the Battell unto *Weissensels*; that he might have this to answer to the Imperialists, should they become victorious; that he was not at all in the Battell. But hearing, that night, how the *Swedish* had the victory, he was by 4. a clocke next morning in the field, as forward as the formost. However, he was the man that first gave abroad the rumour, that the King was kild: and by him was it sooner knowne in *Weissensels*, then in the Kings owne Army. This Duke finding no employment, after the Battell, nor great good will among the Army towards him: went after 2. or 3. dayes, to his Cousin the *Electer* of *Saxony*, who sent him to the Army in *Silesia*, and there he is now *Felt-Marshal*, unto *Lieutenant-Generall Arnheim*.

All this while, are the Imperialists masters of the Kings body, and of the ground they had beaten the *Swedish* from: They had the King, I say, in their possession; and there they stript him first of all: every man being greedy to get some part of his spoyles, that they might hereafter glory to have taken it, from the King of *Sweden*. Some got his Spurres: one of which, had the buckle broken off it: a common souldier got his Sword, another his Ring, which was presented to *Holck*: his Buff-coate, his Hat, and other parts of his cloaths, all were now pillaged from him.

And this greedinesse of the souldiers, (every man to get something) was one of the causes that his body was not carried off, and kept for ranome. Another reason for which might be, that every man beleevd him not to be the King of *Sweden*: for notwithstanding that himselfe told them he was the King; yet divers (for all that) suspected him rather to be some great man, that said so to save his owne life: as desirous rather to be taken prisoner.

Severall reports there went abroad the Army, of the circumstances of his manner of dying. Some relate it thus, that one *Truckes* who waited upon the King in his Chamber, being himselfe false downe wounded besides the King (and after brought off alive) was demanded by an Officer of the enemies,

Why not carried off, by the Imperialists.

enemies, Who the King was ? and that asking the same question of the King, he should answer, *That he was the King of Sweden*; whereupon he thrust him thorow the body with a broad sword, and then ranne away : for that the *Swedes* now charged. Not much varying from this, is the Letter of *Nicophorus Kessel*, Preacher unto Duke *Bernard* : who names one *Loebelsinger* (a young Gentleman) in stead of *Truckses*. This *Loebelsinger*, is sonne to Colonnell *Loebelsinger* of *Norimberg* : who was now servant, indeed, unto the Lord Marshall *Craisham* : and so very likely to be neere the Kings Person.

The dying King wounded and mangled.

Different reports, reconciled.

Adding that some Horsemen of the enemies a-lighting to strip the dead bodies, askt the King who he was : who answered, *I am the King of Sweden ; who doe seale the Religion and Libertie of the Germane Nation, with my blood*. After which subjoyning, *Alas my poore Queene ! and commending his soule to God* ; they then kill'd this dying Conquerour. For one of the Imperialists at this time shot him thorow the head, into the right temple, the bullet passing againe out at the left : another, thrust his sword into his body and right side : and he, or a third ; gave him a chop withall in the legge ; and so left him naked, with five wounds upon him : the *Swedes* by that time comming on to charge againe. This was reported by the young Gentleman (saith the Preacher) who having there received three wounds, was laid among the dead as one of them : but being afterwards brought off alive, hee then reported thus of it. But were it *Truckses*, or were it *Loebelsinger* ; hee is said to have dyed of his wounds, so soone as ever he was fetcht off : so that he had no time nor strength, to tell more of it. That there is a difference in the names, is an easie mistake : especially so suddenly after that huddle. *Truckses* might report it from *Loebelsinger* ; or *Loebelsinger* from *Truckses* : However, I have divers Writing that runne upon the same thing ; and therefore, surely, there was at that time such a beliefe amongst a many in the Army. This probability is very much strengthened, by the Imperiall souldiers owne report of it, made at *Prague* to those Gentlemen of our nation, then prisoners there. How, namely, that the King being first wounded and in his retreat pursued by them, would as they efforted to shoot and strike at him, call out and say, *That hee was the King of Sweden*. M, *Spanish Relation*

The Imperia-
lists goe to see
the dying
King.

addes this to it. In the beginning of the encounter, one *Imperialis Bucela*, Comrade to Colonel *Piccolomini*, knew the King, as he lay wounded and dying upon the ground: where of giving *Piccolomini* notice, he with 10. more went to see the Body, which was yet quivering: and whilest they were about to bring it away; a troope of the enemies charging, forced them to retire and leave it. The noise of his death, was presently dispersed abroad: but yet beleefe was not fully given to it, for that some prisoners affirmed that hee was but hurt, and carried off in a close Coach, following his white Ensigne. Thus farre my *Spaniard*. All this might be true. The *Swedish* prisoners that reported him to be but wounded; were those that were taken, so soone as ever he offered to retreat: and before he was shot the second time. But that they said he was carried off in his Coach, &c. was their Iudgement: that being wounded, it was likely he would goe off in his Coach, which at first stood behind the *White Regiment*.

A conjecture.

What, now, if putting all these together, we should suppose *Piccolomini* himselfe and his Company, to be the men, that thus questioned and wounded, the dying King of *Sweden*? Was it for meere charging with his Regiment, when the King of *Sweden* was first shot, that *Walenstein* afterwards bestowed as much Lands in *Bohemia* upon him, as he was offered 400000 Dollars for, which amounts to 100000 pound *Sterling*? But this I make but a suspicion, no accusation: nor have I heard it from *Prague*, that *Piccolomini* should thus use him.

The Kings
death concealed
from his
owne Army.

Past conjecture it is, that he who could not be conquered, was there slaine, and for the principall manner, in this very fashion: in the possibilitie and circumstances whereof, I for mine owne part doe rest satisfied. His death was knowne but to some few, of the great ones, (no not to those of his owne Army or Wing,) for 14 houres after: all beleevving, what was either by *Art* or *Error*: given out; how that hee was but carryed off wounded. Hence it is, that the Letters written the very same night, speake so doubtfully of his death.

death; or so hopefully of his life: and that those few words, which He is reported to have spoken, when hee lay on the ground a dying; were after mistaken to be uttered at *Weissenfels*, in that 6 houres, or 36 houres, which hee was said to have lived. The *Royall Corps*; was after a quarter of an houre, recovered by Colonell *Stolhanse*: and in an Ammunition wagon (out of which the powder was purposely The Body re- shifted) was it privately carryed out of the Field unto *Weis-* covered. *senfels*: for that his Coach was runne away among others, in the fright which the *Crabats* lately put the wagons to. And this long insertion concerning the manner of the Kings death, I confesse to be rather *seasonable*, then *methodicall*: an *Histo-* The Authors *rian* (I know) would rather have referred all this, unto the excuse. latter end of the Combate. But for that I have still observed, how curiously inquisitive men have beene, after the manner of the Kings death: I supposed that an indeavour to give content, in that kinde, would be no unseasonable distraction; (though the very heate and fiercest of the encounter in other parts, be a while deferred) to those that so much longed for it: yea more, than for any other part of the *Story*.

Returne we now into the *Battell*, and to the *Right Wing* againe. The mist that we before told you of; was not (by their owne side) judged to be any way prejudiciall, but advantageous rather unto the *Swedish*: seeing that the Imperialists who had now the better of it, were by the falling of this Mist so arrested, as that they pursued not the Retreat, which they had put the *Swedish* unto. The rumour likewise of the Kings death, made them so to clutter about the *Body*; that that also stayed them.

All this while were the foure Foot *Brigades* of the *Swedish* Battell, *pell mell* at it: and they (even by my *Spaniards* The Second confession) gat ground a-pace of those Imperialists whom charge. they had attacked. And now also did *Stolhanse* (who certainly had an *Item* given him of the Kings death, or great danger, by *Craillbarn*, *Saxon-Lawenburg*, or some other)

The Kings
Body recove-
red,

and the Impe-
rialists beaten
to the gal-
lowes,

charge so fiercely toward that very place, that he beate off the Imperialists, recovered the Kings Body: which he brought off naked; after it had bene a full quarter of an houre in the enemies possession. And now was *Piccolominies* Regiment soundly peppered: the *Swedish* both Foote and Horle after an houres fight, beating all the Imperialists along before them: till they had driven them to the very gallows, which you see behind them. And now did the *Swedish* get possession of these 7. peeces of Ordnance which you see together at the letter F, under the number 50. which was *Piccolominies* Horle Regiment. These Ordnance were the easier to be taken, for that they played not, *Walenssteins* Powder-Wagons were by mischance blowne up so that his Cannon were scarce heard of; all the day after.

And thus ended the *second Charge*: for by this time was the mist become so extraordinary, and by the smoake so thickened: as the *Swedes* could not see how to pursue their advantage. And here was the mist, become as beneficiall to the Imp. as it had bin favourable before, unto the *Swedish*. In this time fell there so terrible an affrightment in the Imperiall Army; that 1000. or 1500. *Dutch Horle*, ranne all away together. One of them was by a Gentleman of our nation (then prisoner in their Reere) over-heard to say: Oh, I know the King of *Sweden* well enough, I have served him; he's best at the latter end of a day. But the chiefest fright was among the Ladies, the Captaines wives, and other women, then behind the Army. Many Gentlewomen gat out of their Coaches, cut asunder the harnessse, and mounted straddlings upon the bare horse backs; and away they spudded among the soldiers. Now went the Wagon horses and the Ordnance horses to it; all were ridden away with. Divers women and children, were there trodden to death: nor would the Horsemen turne head; notwithstanding they heard the charge presently againe renewed, and those about the *Mills*, all this time at it: till they were gotten over a Pass, 4 or 5. *English* miles from the place of Battell. The freight so pursued them, though no-body else did: that comming to this Passe, the Officers drew

drew out their swords, and slasht and beate off the souldiers, to give them way to get over it. There were at least 4. of 5000. people of them, and they quartered themselves confusedly up and downe in the villages which the Boores had forsaken: nor durst they ever retume into the Battell. Amongst these was my Author carried away: from whom I learned it.

After a little pause, the Count of *Pappenheim* with his Horse and Dragooners, arrived; whom some will need have, to have beene in person at the beginning of the Battell. By his coming, was the charge thereabouts renewed. He put himselfe into the Imperiall *Left Wing*, (which was most distressed, and which had beene reserved for him:) to be opposite to the *Swedish Right Wing*; where hee supposed the King in person had commanded. Just as he was ordering his Horse, he was stricke with a bullet of a *Falconet*, or small *Sling-peece* about the shoulder; of which he dyed presently: even so soone as he was taken downe from his horse, to have beene carried unto *Leipsich*. This was a brave fighting Gentleman: whose body was by *Walenstein* carried unto *Praque*; where it was to be seene publickely. The Emperour (as a little *French Relation* that I have, affirmeth) had newly sent the *Collar of the Golden Fleece* unto him and *Walenstein*: which honour, before ever he received, he was in the place where he should have worne his *Order*, thus dubbed with a *Sling-peece*. He had made his *Will*, a little before: had shryven himselfe and communicated at a *dry-Masse*: and made this short *Testament* upon it. His *Soule*, he commended to *God*; his *Body* (if he were slaine) to the Emperour: and his wife and children, unto *Walenstein*.

He being shot, his Officers flocking about him, were heard to cry, O our General is slaine, our General is slaine: immediately whereupon his Horse turned head, and ran out of the Battell without stroke-striking; backe againe towards the *Weser* and the *Lower Saxony*.

But the *Walssteiners*, whom *Pappenheim*s coming had set on; fell to it closely: *Piccolomini* advanced, and *Terfica*,

Pappenheim
renewing the
charge;

is slaine.

His men run-
ning quite
away upon it.

The 3^d. charge. with their Cavallery, and the Foote-Regiments^s seconded them with extremity of Resolution. And now began the forest, the longest, and the obstinatest conflict, that had beene, since the King was killed. The charge was sustained by the *Swedish*, with much gallantry: and never was Battell better foughten: nor seldome have *Battalions* ever stood, amongst whom so much spoyle hath beene committed. Full 2. houres, were they in hote Battell. On the Imperiall side was *Piccolomini*, twice or thrice, shot, Sergeant Major *Brunner*, slaine; and so was a young Count of *Walenstein*; and if the old one were there, I wonder how he scap't pelting. The *Abbot of Fulda*, was at this charge also slaine: and thinke, then, how many Officers and common souldiers, was it likely that these great Commanders did take along, to waite upon them into the next world.

A terrible onset

On the *Swedes* side, the chiefe of the spoyle light upon the 3. middlemost *Brigades* of Foote, belonging unto *Grave Neeles* and Colonell *Winckle*: which you see at the numbers 9. and 10. The Imperialists charged with so much fury, and with *Battalions* of 2. or 3000. in a Regiment: that they by fine force drove the *Swedish* to the retreat, in the plaine field, and (as the most say) even then recovered their 7. peeces of Ordnance. *Grave Neeles*, Colonell of the *Life-guards* (which is the *yellow Regiment*) was there shot a little above the knee: of which being carried off spoyled, he after dyed. Out of this *Brigade*, did the Imperialists carry away 7. Coloures: and to tell the troth, the Kings owne company which served here among the *Guards*, lost their owne Ensigne or *Standard Royall* too. He that had carryed the Colours, was after seene with his sword in his hand: but his *clowte* was missing.

Colonell *Winckles Blew Regiment*, likewise, found as hard treatment. Himselfe (brave man) was shot in the arme a little above the elbow, and in the hand, and carried out of the Battell. His Lieftenant *Casspar Wolff*, was slaine upon the place, and most of his Colours taken. These 2. *Brigades*, were of

of the flower of the Army: old souldiers of 7. or 8. yeeres service, (the most of them) and whom the King had there placed, for that he most relied on them. These old *Blades*, stood to their Armes, stoutly; and the aduerse writers confesse, That their dead bodies now covered the same ground, which living they had defended. These were old *beaten souldiers*, indeed, but it was so long since they had beene last beaten, that they had by this time forgotten how to runne away. This is the reason that they were so shattered: that when towards night, they were to have salne on againe; both these *Brigades* put together, could not make one Squadron strong: which is but the third part of one of them. By this you see, that 5. of 6. were there killed or wounded.

The *Swedes Brigade*, marked with the number 8. fared something better, because neere unto the Horse: and yet there came not above 400. off, alive or unwounded. Duke *Bernards Brigade*, marked with 11. was something more out of Gun-shot: for that next the Horse of the *Left Wing*. Yet here was Colonel *Wildestein* shot in the breast, of which he after died: Duke *Bernards* Lieftenant-Colonel *Winckler*, being slaine upon the place. In this fore bickering, the spoyle on the Imperiall side, fell mostly upon old *Bruners* and young *Walensteins* Regiments, both which were here killed, with full halfe, if not 2. thirds of the souldiers. These Regiments performed their duties so valiantly, and *Walenstein* himselfe tooke such speciall notice of them; that he along time after (if not still) maintained them in his owne house at *Prague* for it. *Hindersons Reserve* of Foote, in the meane time, which you see at number 37. had also their share in the knocking: one of the Offices and uses of the *Reserve* being, still to supply and second where most need is, with fresh men to derne up the holes, and stop up the gaps of the slaughtered. And whereas those 4. *Brigades* of the *Van* had so terribly beene shattered: Generall-Major *Kniphhausen*, had out of his care sent up these 2. *Brigades* of the Count of *Thurn*, and the Colonell *Mitzelaff*, which you see at numbers 28. and 29.

The Imperialists beaten off; and 11 peeces taken.

to relieve them. After a while, hee sent them up those 4. Squadrons of Horſe, which you ſee at the numbers 33, 34, 35, 36. who ſo well (altogether) reſtored the encounter; that the Imperialiſts began to give ground: which the *Swedes* ſo farre purſued, till they had recovered the 7. peeces againe, and thoſe 4. others which you ſee at the letters *FF*, to the left hand of them.

Looke we now aſide, to ſee what was done in the *Reere* and *Left Wing*, by *Kniphaufen* and Duke *Bernard*. Generall-Major *Kniphaufen* having ſent 2. *Brigades* of his 4. and 4. Squadrons of Horſe, to the reliefe of the *Vantgard*: ſent alſo his other 2. Horſe Squadrons, at the numbers 30, 31. commanded by the Prince of *Anhalt*, and the Lieſtenant of Baron *Heſſkirch*, unto Duke *Bernard*. As for the other 2. *Brigades* of Foote, (his owne and *Bofens*) which you ſee at 27. and 28. together with *Oems* his *Reſerve* of Horſe, to be found at number 38. theſe did *Kniphaufen* ſtill keepe by him, in the *Reere* of the *Battell*.

and what Duke Bernard.

Duke *Bernard* had as hard a Chapter of it, as any man, againſt the Imperialiſts *Right Wing*. at the *Wind-Mills*, and (ſurely) had the moſt renowned *Don Quixote* beene there, there had beene exerciſe enough for his valour, at theſe *Wind-Mills*. Soberly, this was the hardeſt Poſt, for advantage of ſituation, all the field over: and Count *Colorado*, as well maintained it againſt him. Never man did more gallantly behaue himſelfe, then Duke *Bernard* did that day: ſure it is, (and himſelfe avoucht it) that firſt and laſt, in this and other places, hee charged 12. ſeverall times, one after another: any of which was a more desperate piece of ſervice, then all *Hercules* 12. labours; bate me but his going to Hell to fetch out *Cerberus*. And *Colorado* gave Duke *Bernard* leave to charge, all: he had ſo good an advantage, of the 2. ditches and the *Wind-Mills*; that hee would not ſcarce offer upon Duke *Bernard*.

His great valour.

The brave young Duke, preſſing on in the beginning of the fight, had ſet the towne of *Lutzen* on fire: his reaſon being

being, that seeing if he would get the *Wind-Mills*, hee must with the end of his *Wing*, even touch (as it were) the very walles of the towne. Should *Coloredo*, then, have first filled those walles with Muskettiers; they must needs have so forely galled his Horsemen, that there had beene no coming neere: nor could Horse and Pistols, have done any service against walles and Muskettiers. In one of these *Charges*, did *Coloredo* so thunder upon Duke *Bernard*, that the valiant Prince thought it not un-souldier-like done, to shelter himselfe behind the *Millars House*, which you see at the letter N.

All this time (as wee told you) did Major *Kniphausen* keep his two *Brigades* and *Oems* his *Reserve*, together un-engaged: doing no more with them, then faire and softly advancethem towards the enemy; at such time as he saw the *Brigades* of the *Van*, to get any ground of them. The distance of his *Reere* from the *Front*, was about 600. paces: and at that scantling hee still kept himselfe, behind the other. This was no small occasion of the winning of the Battell: seeing that so often as any of the *Van* were disordered and put to the retreat; they with him, still, found a whole great Body together, unbroken: by the sight of which they resumed new courage, and were set in order againe.

And very glad was Duke *Bernard* when in the next breaking up of the Mist, he came and found *Kniphausen* in so good order: whom (as he openly professed) hee feared to have found all to pieces. For now, betwixt 3. and 4. a clocke, (which was a little before Sun-set) did the Mist breake up; and there was a faire halfe-houre after it. At which time Duke *Bernard* going abroad, to over-view the posture and countenance of the Army: (which since his hearing of the Kings death, the mist and smoake had not suffered him to discover any thing of:) he came now along by the Battell unto the *Right Wing*; speaking to the Officers and souldiers, and encouraging them to a new on-set. Plainely he found the

T

whole

whole Army (except *Kniphausen's* part) in no very good order: which he and *Kniphausen* (who tooke much good paines likewise about it) did their best to reduce them to. When the *Word* was given for a new Charge: *also Camrade* (said the poore souldiers one to another) *must we fall on againe! Come sayes the tother* (embracing him,) *Courage; if wee must, lets doe it bravely, and make a day of it.* As Duke *Bernard* was leading on: the Imperiall *Generalissimo* sent his two Colonels *Terfca* and *Piccolomini*, to discover in that cleere weather, what the *Swedes* were a doing: who brought his Excellency word againe, that they were *allied* together about the Wood, and in very good order advancing towards him.

The fourth Charge.

This (no doubt) made the Imperialists hearts quake; to thinke upon the terror of a fourth Charge. And now could the *Swedes* discover the Imperiall Horse, retreating in indifferent good order towards the *Wind-Mills*: whereupon they bringing forward 10. pieces of Cannon, and turning those likewise upon them, which were before taken: they gave the Imperiall Horse such a rowling *Salvoe* of great Ordnance, and charged so upon it, that they put them into disorder. And here (as my *Spanish Relator* saie) did the *Generalissimo* light upon a slight fillipp: by a favourable Musket bullet, namely, which made no wound; but left a blue remembrance onely upon him. That hee was indeede shot thorow the Coate, was at *Prague* reported: though some would even there say privately, that hee was in no such danger.

The Imperialists beaten to the Wind-mills.

And now were the Imperialists beaten round about, even to the very *Wind-Mills*: the *Swedes* being Masters of the ground, that they shouldred the others out of. But just now a little before Sun-set, fell the fatal mist againe: which so halsted on the night, that the *Swedes* could not well see, which way to pursue their enemies. Duke *Bernard* in his coming backe was thus heard to say, *Mercifull God! but for this mist, wee had even now gotten the victory.* Hence went.

went he backe againe over all the *Battalions*; to his owne *Post* againe: towards which, he now perceived the *Imperialists* to be making.

And now by *Sunne-setting*, was all the *Field* cleere of the *Imperialists*, excepting onely about the *Wind-Mills*: and there, plainly, were both *Coloredoes* and *Duke Bernards* men, false off one from another: like 2. *Duellers* leaning on their swords, to take breath againe. Certainly, they had so bangd one another, that neither of both were in order: but either party shot at adventure right forward, and let the bullet find his owne way, as it could, thorow that night of smoake and mistineffe. Those Muskettiers which (we told you) were lodged in the mudd-wal'd gardens, were scene to give fire, continually: but no men to be discerned. And the *Swedes* at adventure shot at them againe: and as at night they got ground, they storm'd into the gardens: as if they had beene so many Castles. Here the next day, were a many found dead: 300. in one of them.

And iust in the edge of the evening, when the *Swedish* well hoped all had beene finished: had *Duke Bernard* fresh word brought him, that *Pappenheims* Foote were even now arrived, from *Hall*; and were beginning a fresh *Charge*, a- The 5th charge, bout the *Wind-Mills*. Thus ranne the *Word* over the *Army*, *Pappenheims* Foot are comne, *Pappenheims* Foot are comne. This the *Swedish* beleev'd: though *Captaine Feilding* assures me, that the *Imperialists* at *Prague*, would never acknowledge it, that the *Pappenheimers* came at all into the *Battell*.

Now was all the service, (after halfe an houres silence on both sides,) turned unto the *Wind-Mills*. The *Imperialists* courages, like the throwes of a dying body, struggled hard, at the last cast, for life: and made, for the time, as fierce a *Charge* of it, as any had the day before passed. To withstand this, now does *Kniphausen* bring on his 2. fresh *Brigades*: with whom are the other 2. of *Thurns* and *Mitzlaffs* conjoynd, that he had before sent to the reliefe of the *Vanguard*: which,

The Battell of Lutzen.

indeed, had not so cruelly beene shattered. Now also Duke Cernard r'allying all the Horſe together, advanced to the *Charge*. The Imperialiſts had, anew, put downe ſome more Muskettiers into the *croſſe ditch* or *Boundary of Lands*, marked with *H*: which not a little troubled the *Swediſh*. Once or twice, did they offer to force that *Trench*, and to *Storme* over it: but it was ſo troubleſome and dangerous in the darke, that they did but over-tumble one another, and were faine to keepe on the other ſide of it, to bring on ſome Muskettiers, and from thence to give their volleys. The beſt of it was, that it was not above 100. paces diſtant from the *High-way*; cloſe behind which, the Imperialiſts were ranged. That which moſt galled the Imperialiſts, was the *Swediſh* Ordnance: which on the *Right hand Flanke* of them, and on the neerer ſide of the *High-way*; were now turn'd upon them. This moſt cruell and hot fight, continued till about 5. or 6 a clocke in the evening: much about which time, the *Walſſeiners* or *Pappenheimers*, or both together; fell off in the darke, and gave it quite over.

The Imperialiſts gave it over,

and ſo the Battell ended.

And thus ended this long, cruell, bloody, and bravely fought *Battell*: which in continuall exerciſe, in one place or other, (or at leaſt with ſmall intermiſſions) had laſted from 9. in the morning untill this time. Eight or nine long houres, was every man in danger of a ſudden death: when at other times, he would have thought himſelfe ill handled; by ſo long a *Fit of an Ague*. I have caſt the whole Battell, into 5. greater and more remarkeable *Charges*: not becauſe there were no more, but for that theſe were moſt eminent. And yet, perchance, were not theſe ſo diſtinct *Acts* of this *Tragedy*, that they might be ſaid to have begun juſt now (becauſe the whole Battell was but one continuall *Charge*, ſome where or other) but for that the greater *Heates* and *Executions*; were much about theſe times, and in thoſe manners, that I have ſpecified. Theſe *Charges* moſtly concerne the *Battell* and *Right Wing*: for of the *Left*, I have not ſuch particular Intelligence. If the valour of particular and deſerving Gentlemen, cannot
here

here be described: it is for that the malignity of that envious Mist, would not suffer it to be discerned. Assuredly, there hath beene no such cruell Fight, that hath yeilded so few observations. The Imperialists being marcht off; the *Swedish* (gladder of victory, then of enemies) had neither eyes nor wills good enough, to pursue the *Retreate* upon them: especially over such troublesome passages, as the Ditch, the *Highway*, and its *Ditch*: the *Wind-Mills*, and their Ordnance: and the Gardens with their Muskettiers in them. Nor had the Imperialists, after such an *afternoones drinking*; a y hearty good stomachs to such a supper, as were likely to cost them such a *Reckening*. Beating their Drummes, therefore, after a while; they sent away their Baggage and Ammunition, and made their retreate towards *Leipsich*.

The *Swedish* at first hearing of the Imperiall Drummes, knew not what to make of it: but doubted that their enemies meant to retire into the next Dorps; and what they would doe to morrow, they knew not. Now were Duke *Bernard*, *Kniphausen* and some others, in consultation what to doe? Whither to lye all night in the Field, to expect another Charge in the morning, or to carry off their sicke and wounded men, and to retire the Army towards *Weissenfels*. Colonel *Hinderson* had order in the meane time, to burne the carriages of those 11. peeces of Ordnance, which were taken from the Imperialists: because in the night time, the *Swedes* despaired of drawing them along with them.

But *Walensteins* selfe had already yeilded up the *Field* (and the *Victory* consequently) unto the *Swedish*: and by this accident, put an end to their doubtfull consultation. The *Generallissimo*, (already upon his retreate to *Leipsich*,) had given order for all the Regiments to follow after him. Hereupon, a Ruitter or Horseman of the Baron of * *Hoffkirchs* Regiment, was sent to find his Colonell, and to give him order to goe after the *Generallissimo*. This Horseman (it so chanced) had in the darke stumbled upon the *Swedish* Colonell *Oerns Reserve* of Horse: which having not beene brought to fight all the day,

* Brother to
that *Hoffkirch*,
that served on
the Kings side.

was now ordered to make the *Retreare*, and to keepe the *Watch* for the whole Army. *Qui va là, who goes there? Whom seeke you?* saies *Oems Sentinell*: *Hoffkerchs Regiment*, saies the *Ruiter*: Here tis, saies the crafty *Sentinell*; and with that brings him to his *Colonel*. To him he told, that his *Generalissimo* was gone to *Leipsich*, and had commanded all to follow him. This being discovered to *Duke Bernard* and *Kniphansen*, they concluded the *Victory* to be their owne, resolved to keepe the *Field*; and sent to countermand *Colonell Hinderfon*: who had already burnt one or two of the *Enemies Carriages*.

The *Victory* was then published thorow out the Army: and *Word* given, to stay all night upon the *Field of Battell*. All this night was there a pittifull crying heard, of the dying and wounded on both sides: none being able to find, know, or relieve his friend or *Camrade* in the darknesse. Twas a frosty cold night: in which many a braue man dyed of the anguish of his wounds miserably, who might otherwise have beene cured: they being frozen to death, by the morrow morning. The anguish and *dalour* of a wound, is the complaint that *Nature* makes, for a remedie: but here alas! the confused complaining of the wounded, hindred many a man from his friends hearing of him, who might else have given him remedie.

The enemies
Cannon taken.

The next morning did the *Swedish* finde the rest of the *enemies Cannon*, upon their *Batteries* by the *Windmills*; which together with those already taken, made up some 20. or 21. *Peeces*: whereof 9. were *Demi-cannon*, and the rest *Field-peeces*. By which fewnesse you may collect, that even *Walenstein* was halfe surprized: who (doubtlesse) otherwise, would more sufficiently have beene provided. No *Wagons*, either of *Baggage* or *Ammunition*, were left behind: seeing *Walenstein* had time enough all night, to carry off them with him. Nor were there any prisoners of either side taken, (either for numbers, or persons of quality) worth speaking of. The numbers of the slaine upon the place of Battell, is

best

best collected by the burials. The *Swedish* for their parts, affirmed to have buried next day, betwixt 2. and 3000. men: of which the common souldiers were buried in the *bed of honour*, the *Field* they dyed in, being put together by heapes into the ditches by the *High-wayes-side*, and earth cast over them. The Officers, were buried in *Lutzen Church-yard* with some more military solemnity. The Imperiall carcasses were buried by the Boores of *Saxony*: which kept tale of 3530. bodies by them entered: besides which, there were some to be seene unburied a moneth after.

Numbers of the
slaine.

But besides these of the Imperialists slaine upon the place, the Boores had knockt downe, God knowes how many hundred souldiers, (2. or 3000. say some) as they fled away stragling about the Countrey. And the souldiers were even with the Boores for it: for that in their flight towards *Bohemia*; some would goe out purposely upon Partees, to kill Boores: one Captaine being heard to professe, That he had that day kill'd fifty. And thus, both of Boores and souldiers, there might perchance be 2. or 3000. slaine after the *Battell*. The *Wounded*, were as many more as the slaine: but how many of them dyed after of their hurts, comes not within our numbers. The *High Dutch Relation* annexed to the *Figure* of the *Battell* (which *Gallobelgicus* hath translated into his *Booke*) mentions 9000. but *Fame* (I beleieve) kills more then the *Sword*, ever. Halfe of the *Swedish* slaughter, light upon the *Lifeguards* and *Winckles* Regiments: of which more were carried off spoyled, then were slaine upon the place.

True it is, that when 2. daies after, the *Swedes* overviewed their Army; they wanted about 4000. of their former numbers: but into those are the wounded to be reckoned, which were not then able to muster. The reason now, why the slaughter was no greater, in such a long and hard fought *Battell*; was, for that there was no chase after the Victory: for there vses to be the terriblest of the execution.

Of great Commanders slaine on both sides; these onely doe

Men of quality
slaine on both
sides.

doe I find mention of. On the Kings side. First, the Kings Maiesty himselfe: whose death is never enough to be lamented: and to whom the more ingenuous Imperialists at *Prague* were heard to give this honourable Testimony, *That he was the bravest Enemy, and the best Captaine, that ever was in Christendome.* Next to the King, was *Grave Neeles*, *Nicholas* Count of *Wesenburg*, Sergeant-Major-Generall *Ifler*, and Colonell *Gersdorff*: with divers Lieftenant-Colonells, Majors, Rit-masters and Captaines, whom I have not heard named. On the Imperiall side slaine, The Abbot of *Fulda* by his place a Prince of the Empire. 2. the Count of *Pappenheim*, 3. Count *Berthold Walenstein*, 4. Sergeant-Major-Generall *Brenner*. 5. *Lo. Westrumb*, *Lan*, *Comarga*, *Witzleb*, and *Foves*: all (as I heare) Colonells. Together with *Borda*, *Taxheim*, *Lampert*, and *Cammerhoff*. Lieftenant-Colonels: besides Sergeant-Majors, Captaines of Horse and Foote, and other Officers. Whereas therefore you have heard of *Merode* and *Gallas*, to be wounded to death; Ile assure you they were not in the Battell, nor was *Holck* wounded to death, nor at all: nor *Pappenheim* cut off by the middle, nor *Isolani* slaine: which man is still Colonell Generall of the *Crabats*; of which nation himselfe is. Our 2. Countrymen, were his prisoners, and they saw him at *Prague*: and describe him to be, an old beardless man, full of the palsey; a Gentleman of much valour, courtesie, and extraordinary hardinesse of body. As this is true, so beleve the rest of that Writer, that told you of the death of those great Imperialists.

The Imperiall Ordnance, whose carriages had beene burned, were at the *Swedes* going towards *Weissenfels* Novemb. 7th. slipped under the Castle walls of *Lutzen*: into which they put a garrison of 200. Muskettiers. For the drawing away of the rest, every Regiment was charged to take care of one: and to lend horses for the doing of it. That night went the Kings body to *Weissenfels*: where they found themselves to have gotten but a dolefull and a wofull victory: losing that incomparable Conqueror, who was alone worth 2. Armies.

The

The Royall Body, was carried to *Naumburg* to be embalmed: after which when the Armies went againe into the field, the dead King was carryed along in his Chariot, marching betwixt the Horse and the Foot, in the middle of the Army. This so long continued, untill upon the coming of the Chancellor *Oxenstiern*, the Corps was sent with a mourning Convoe towards *Spandow*, in his Brother of *Brandenburgs* country. And thus dyed this *great Deliverer*: which is a higher and a more holy Title, then that of *Cesar*, or of *Conqueror*. Thus dyed he with a victory: which, had he expected but 3. dayes longer, he had obtained without a Battell. So confident was the enemy, that the King never durst have attempted them: that the *Generalissimo* had even already given out Orders, for the dispersing of his Army to their winter Quarters. This is sure: for besides that it is intimated in my *Spanish Relation*: the Imperialists themselves freely at *Prague* confessed it. Then had the King false in among them, as hee thought to have done, the 5th. of November. But He is dead: and that as heartily bemoaned of the *Germanes*, (to say of no more) as of his owne Subjects: who yet professe their losse to be unspeakeable. And in both their *Chronicles*, shall his sacred memory be made *immortall*: and his Name shall ever live in their *mouthes*, glorified.

The Kings Body being embalmed:

is convoyed into *Spandow*.

Speake we now a little, of the distemper in the Imperiall Army. When *Walenstein* first beate his Drummes, to retreat to *Leipsich*: he had purposed to have made no more then a faire retreat indeed of it. But no sooner did his men heare that *signal*: but they fell to running presently, without expecting further order for their *Rendez-vous*. This fright was so great, that the most of them never came in order againe, till they recovered into *Bohemia*: yea even there, full three weekes after the Battell: were there divers multitudes of souldiers, and some almost whole Ensignes scene; then first enquiring after their fled Colonels: who had not yet scene their own Regiments. And this was not onely so, with a great many straglers; but even amongst those that were neerest

The flight, and wonderfull confusion among the Imperialists.

V

about

about the *Generalissimo*: there was not a Regiment (scarcely, if at all) that marcht or Quartered in any order; but stragglingly up and downe in Dorps, as every man shifted. Once did our Counttrimen (that were carried away among them) see 35. Colours of them together: but this was in *Bohemia*; and the greatest shew that they had till that time seene of them.

Their owne
confessions of
the Battell.

Divers Officers confessed, that they had lost 6000. men: which others made more nice of, and professed to have lost but 4000. And as freely withall did they confesse, that had the *Swedcs* but sent off 1000. fresh Horse after them, they might have cut all the whole Army to peeces. When in their *Flight*, (*Retreate* is now too faire a word for them) they came at night to any Quarter; their custome was to stay still there, till some *Swedish* Horse were heard of, or discovered to pursue them: of which though there appeared but a troope of 40. they had order to hasten away after the *Generalissimo*. This was the *Crabats* worke commonly: who beeing of the nimblest Horse; were still left last in the Quarters, and to bring word of the comming of the Enemy.

They tooke
more Colours,
then the *Swedish*.

How the newes
of the Battell,
was relented at
Vienna.

And yet durst these, afterwards at *Prague*, contend for it; That they had as good of the *Day*, as the *Swedish*: for which their Arguments were, that they kill'd the King; much about as many men; and brought away almost 60 Ensignes. Had they onely mentioned the King, their argument had beene better, then their other reasons can make it. Tis true indeed that when our 2 Counttrimen told Duke *Bernard* afterwards, that they boasted to have taken so many *Ensignes*: nay (saies he) thats too lowd: but they have indeed taken 45. and we have 17 or 18. of their Colours. But, now, the losse of their Cannon, their leaving the field unto their enemies: and their right downe running away, when none pursued after them: the Court of *Vienna* it selfe can never speake with honour of it. And therefore, there was but a faint *Thanksgiving* made for it: a few peeces shot off, but not a Bonfire that I heare of.

of: and that expression rather for the death of the King, and to make the people; then for the *Victory*. The *Victory*, (absolutely,) must all forraigne and *Neutrall Historians*, give unto the *Swedish*: which was such a one, as would have made *Austria* quak't, had the King surviv'd it.

The *Generalissimo* having taken Sanctuary in *Leipsich*, there came the next day, some 1000. or 1500. Footemen to him: whereof some had Colours, and other some had lost them. These were the remainders of 40. Ensignes. A little after, came the Lieutenant-Feld-Marshal *Holck*, with the Sergeant-Major-Generall, Count *Ridolfi Colorado*, the Marquesse of *Grande*, and some others of great quality. And now also came their Baggage-Wagons: waited upon with a Horse-Convoe. In the night about 6. a clocke, were all these commanded to *Born*, 14. miles onwards of the way, towards *Bohemia*: the Generall himselfe within three houres and a halfe (the same night) following them. *Holck* staid still in *Leipsich*: who going away next day, delivered up the Keyes unto the Magistrates againe; with such a like Complement. That he was now as good as his word, as it became every honest man to be. He hoped therefore, they would speake nothing but honour of him: and show themselves mercifull (as became good *Christians*) unto such sicke and wounded, as he left in their towne behind him. That day, some 16. or 17. troopes of Horse passed by, in sight of the City, with abundance of the Boores Cattle, going towards their *Generalissimo*.

The way of *Walensteins* flight.

His Excellency, went not into *Born*, but Quartered that night hard by it. Thence went he to *Altemburg*: thence to *Cammiz*: thence to *Fravenstein*: thence thorow the Passe of the *Bohemer-Wald* unto *Dienitz* in *Bohemia*: 30. miles short of *Prague* City. And now were the shattered troopes, dispersed into their winter Quarters: *Walenstein* himselfe with the remnants of the 2. Favourite-Regiments, of young *Walenstein*, and old *Breuner*, going directly towards *Prague* City. These 2. Regiments, for their good service at the

Battell, and their diligent attendance upon him in the flight: he ordered to waite upon him in his owne Palace; and by Squad ons to keepe guard about him. They were as his meniall servants; they had their allowance for a standing table in his Court; his owne people served them: and hee himselfe sometimes would see they had their allowance. These were relieved, (that is changed) every 8 dayes: and then had every man 6. or 8. *Bohemian* dollars given him (each worth three shillings *English*) and their Wives or Wenches halfe as much.

Examples of
his vast bounty,

Those Officers that did well in the Battell; he at *New-yeeres-tide* rewarded with Gold chaines; with his owne *Medall* or Picture at them: some of them (to the great Lords) being set with Diamonds; and worth 1000. ducats. Thus were all the Gold Smiths in *Prague* set a worke, upon his *New-yeeres-gifts*. And whereas there was a dispute betwixt *Holck* and *Piccolomini*, whose Regiment was that which charged, when the King was slaine; he adjudged it to *Piccolomini*: rewarding him with as much confiscated lands for it, as was better then 100000. pound *Sterling*. *Holck* hee made Felt-Marshall, in place of *Pappenheim*: and he is now the man, that can doe all in all with him. And whereas the King of *Denmarke* (whose subiect *Holck* is) sent to command him home, under penaltie of confiscating his goods: let him (saies *Wallenstein*) Ile bestow ten times so much upon him: giving him his choice thereupon, of any of these foure Cities, *Teplitz*, *Brix*, *Saiff*, and *Diernitz*: the meanest of which had 16 or 18. pretty vilages; belonging to the Lordship of it. And thus much, of the doings of the Imperialists, both in their flight and in *Bohemia*; have I learned from Captaine *Edward Feilding*.

Those that had done cowardly in the Battell, he said nothing of: but as they came to *Prague*, hee seases and imprisons them. Of these by Christmas time, there were already 18. apprehended. Of whom, some were Counts and Barons: notwithstanding which, he February 4th. following, strucke
off

off eleven* of their heads upon a publike Scaffold. Some in^r and severity. ferious people, he hanged and headed in a baser fashion: others of their names, he caused to be hang'd upon the Gallows, and to be poasted up for cowards. One piece of mirth fell now out, as it were to vary this scene of Martiall severity. A young Colonell being brought upon the Scaffold, (which was iust before *Walensteins* windo v) began aloud; *I come here to dye, for running away after my Generalissimo*: but the Drummes sticke up, and the Trumpets sounded upon it; so that the short breath'd *Orator* could bee no further listened to:

And thus leave I our great Imperiall *Generalissimo*: who keeps a State in *Prague*: no Maiesty in *Christendome*, comparable to him. About *Christmas*, was there a feare of Duke *Bernards* falling into *Bohemia*: whereupon such a puzzle there was amongst them, that *Potents* or Commands were presently given out, for the drawing of 6000. men towards the Frontiers. So easie was it to have conquered *Walenstein*, and *Bohemia*.

And now for that the contrarily affected may not say, that my Intelligence is particular, or all from one side: I will here afford them the *Relation* made by the *Spanish* Gentleman before quoted: fairely, barely, without additions or alterations translated: the originall whereof I am ready to communicate unto any ingenuous Gentleman. Two or 3. other *Relations* (I confesse) I have in *French*, printed at *Brussels*: which are so ignorantly and insolently done, that even that side may be ashamed to give credit to them. I have taken nothing out of *le Soldat Suedois*; for that ther's little but words in him. Two or three *High-Dutch* pieces, and some *Latine* also I have by me, as foolish as the former: but this onely of the *Spaniard*, I have thought worthy your perusall.

THE morning began to peepe, when newes came that the King now altogether in Battell-ray, did march up towards us: whereupon His Excellency presently cast his Army into that forme, which appeareth in the Figure, leaving a little way on the right hand some *Wind-Mills*, according to the disposition and necessity of the situation. The King had in the meane while, put his Army right opposite to ours; not full distant the reach of a Cannon: approaching with his *left Wing* neere upon *Lutzen*; and with the *right*, touching upon a little Wood: which also was very neere united with his *Front*. In this order did his Excellency stay, till the King should begin to moove: we having a small ditch along the *Front* of our Army. The King mooved soone after, with all his forces: making a show that he was resolv'd to invest us, some-while upon one side, some-while upon the other. At length, he set upon us in the *Front*: and sent his *Cavallery* of the *right Wing*, to overturne ours. By reason hereof, we were forced to retire our *Baggage* which was upon our *left Wing*, quite behind all our Army, to the end it should not be cut off from us. Thus began the Encounter with equall order, and continuall shot of Cannon; which did on each side mutuall hurt: every one striving to get forward, thorow the midst of mortality and slaughter of men, for to drive the enemy out of his place. The Earle of *Pappenheim* came in at the very beginning of the fight, with some Regiments of Horse and Dragoons: whom he instantly carryed into the *left Wing*; where it appear'd the King did charge with most obstinacy. And here the Earle giving the onset with his accustomed valour, was in the very beginning mortally wounded by a Fauconett: so that being taken off his Horse to be brought to *Leipsich*, he ended his life, before his Journey: This valerous Cavalier having sacrificed himselfe to Gods service and the Emperours, in the most important occasion which ever hath off'rd it selfe to benefit the Catholike Religion, and the whole *House of Austria*.

In the meane time the *Front* of the enemies Army, got ground

ground apace, and with a notable Resolution: our Artillery being never able to disorder it though many a shot was made upon it: and being now come neere the ditch which was made on our side, a great number of Muskettiers was let downe into it, from whence they gave us many good *Salvées*. But especially did they powre lead, into the Regiment of the Colonell *Piccolomini*: Who after he had bene exposed a-while, to the discretion of those Muskettiers; determined to set upon them, and to drive them out of the Ditch. And this he did accordingly, with so fortunate a successe; that if he had bene seconded by other Regiments, no doubt but that part of the Enemies Army would have bene utterly rowted. But there being none to backe him, and he fearing to be cut off from the Army, (if hee went too farre forwards) resolv'd to set with might and maine upon a Regiment* of the Enemies, which he also utterly defeated, leaving it stretched out upon the ground, in the same manner as it had stood before ordered in Squadrons. After *Pappenheim* was wounded; the Cavalry which he had led, never so much as turn'd their faces against the Enemy: whereby advantage was given him to get the better of our Foot also on the *left side*. For all this, on the *right side* was the fight maintained, with equall and all possible obstinacy: at which time, a newes being spread of the Kings death, it seemed that the Enemies Army began to give backe by little and little, under the favour of a very thicke mist which was risen: insomuch that at first, it was not possible to find where it stood. Hereupon, for the present, the victory was held to be ours. We being desirous to goe forward to seeke out the Enemy, intelligence was had, that he went to rejoyne his Squadrons about the Wood side: for which reason his Excellence sent his Colonels *Tercia* and *Piccolomini* to take more exact notice of what was unnot'd. They being past on a little forward towards the Wood, saw the Enemy in full Battell-ray, marching up towards us in as good an order as at the first. It was now very neere night; and our Army not well joynd together:

* *winkles.*

together : necessity constrain'd us to make a stay in our owne place, neere the *Wind mills*, which the Earle *Coloredo* defended valerously. He being charg'd by forces, incomparably much greater, should have beene forc'd to quit the *Mills*, had not his Excellency sent to his succour the Colonels *Tercica* and *Piccolomini* with their Cavalry, to sustaine the shocke of those Foote; as in effect they did. It was now upon shutting in of the Evening, when the Enemy beginning afresh a round *Salvee* of his Cannon, did notably annoy our troopes and was like to have done more harme, had not the Night come on. His Excellency, when hee least fear'd such an accident, (being now in the *Front* of the Regiment of *Piccolomini*, speaking with him) was hurt in the left arme with a Musket Bullet: but (as we may say) almost miraculously : since it did him no other harme, then to leave a blacke and blue marke behind it. His Excellency shewed that day no ordinary valour, riding up and downe in the *Front* of all the Regiments; where from time to time necessity call'd him: encouraging with his presence, every body to the accomplishment of their duty: being accompanied by the two Princes, brothers of the great Duke of *Tuscany*; of whom the one call'd *Don Francisco*, lost his Horse he sat on by a Cannon Bullet. The Colonels *Lo* and *Camargo* dyed on the place. *Piccolomini* came off with 10. Musketrado's, five whereof, wounded him in divers parts of the body; th' other five went no further then his armour. He lost foure Horses under him, and three hundred of his best souldiers: His Sergeant-Major, two Captaines, and most of his Officers were hurt. It is thought, that of our side, there dyed neere upon three thousand; but a great many more wounded. Of the enemies side, were lost neere sixe thousand, and as many more wounded: it having beene the most bloody and obstinate Battell, which ever had beene fought in *Germany*: especially in to small a number of the Imperialists which came not to twelue thousand, where on the other side, the Enemies Forces amounted to above twenty thousand.

Then was he not in his *Litter*, as *Le Soldat Suedois* geetes him.

In these foure numbers, lyes the chiefest of my Authors misintelligence, or partiality. He is an adversary to the *Suedish* and I pray you so to understand him

At

At length, the fight being ended by reason of the night; his Excellency, was not resolved whether he should keepe his army in that place, or else to retire to *Leipsich*. But having heard the opinion of all his greatest Officers, he determined, with their good liking, to retire to *Leipsich*; notwithstanding the arrivall of five Regiments * of *Pappenheims* now newly come from *Hall*. Because it was probably feared, that thorough the wearinesse of the souldiers, the number of the wounded, the excessive cold; and which was most materiall, lest thorough want of provisions in that place, the souldiers might scatter about the neighbour townes to provide themselves against their wants; and in the morning if need should be, none would be found ready for service. Hereupon our Army after three houres in the night, began to march towards *Leipsich*: who not being able for want of Horses and Boyes (who in the beginning of the Battell, were either kild or hurt) to carry off their Ordnance, left it there in the field; As the Enemy did likewise his owne, * marching on towards *Namberg*.

His Highnesse sent immediately for the Baron *Gallas*, who joyned with him in *Bennis* with the forces he had: He sent likewise to fetch Monsier *Altringer* to come to him with his men, with an intent to make another grosse, wherewith to goe and defeate the troopes of the Enemy, which were left a-foote. His Excellency now being in *Frawenstein*, upon the Confinnes of *Saxony* and *Bohemia*, intends from thence to goe to *Pragne*.

In the beginning of the Encounter of both Armies, *Innocentius Bucela Camrade* of *Piccolomini*. knew the King; who lay hurt and dying upon the ground. Whereof having given notice to the Colonell; he went with him and ten more, to see the body which was yet quivering: and while they were about fetching of it away, a troope of the Enemies charging, forced them to retire. The noise of his death, was presently scattered abroad; yet believe was not fully given to it, by reason of the relation which some prisoners made, as that the

* This sets the report right for both sides. The *Swedish* say that the *Pappenheimers* came up in the night: and the *Imperialists* affirme that they came not to the Battell.

* In these two Relations of the *Swedes* leaving their Cannon, and *Gallas* his joyning, he had false Intelligence. But this shewes that *Gallas* was not in the Battell.

X

King

King was but hurt, and carried off in a close Coach, following his white Standard. But an Astrologer entertained by his Excellency, being taken prisoner accidentally in the Battell, and ransomed eight dayes after; brought undoubted newes, that the King was wounded with a Musket in his arme and two Pistoll bullets, and false downe dead in the field.

The death of the King halfe verified the Prognostication of an Astrologer named *David Herlicius* of *Stargard* in *Pomerania*; who said some moneths before, that the King should never passe over the River of *Elbe* againe: which he interpreting to his benefit; beleevved he should become Master of the Empire, (as among his *Collegiates* he was already reputed,) and cease to returne into *Sweden*, where is nothing else but craggy mountaines. But God who disposeth all things, hath made vaine the issue of that hope, and given us to understand, that to him alone is reserved the disposing of Empires.

You have no word here, of the Imperialists arrogating of the Victory to their partie.

Printed with all necessary priviledge. In *Lisbon*. By *Antonio Alvarez*, 1633, Febr. 16.

THE

THE EXPLICATION

OF THE SEVERALL LETTERS

and *Numbers*, in the Figure of the
Battell of LUTZEN.

The *Imperiall* Army.

A **VV** *Alensteins* Right Wing of Horſe.

B His Battell or Body of the
Foot: in the middle whereof is one Horſe Regi-
ment, of *Piccolomini's*.

C His Right Wing of Horſe.

D The Towne of *Lutzen*.

E The Wind-mills: upon the higher ground and
hills whereof, he had planted ſome Ordnance.

F Three other places, where hee had planted
Ordnance.

G The Gallows.

H A dry Ditch or Boundary for lands, which
Walenſtein made to ſerve him for a Breſt-worke, to
lodge Muskettiers in.

The Kings Army.

I The Right Wing of the Kings Vant-guard;
conſiſting of ſixe Horſe Squadrons, lined with five
Bodies of Muskettiers. This was led by the King
himſelfe: whoſe place is over the letter I.

K The Left Wing of the *Swediſh* Vant-guard,
compoſed of Horſe and Muskettiers, like the Right
Wing. Of this, Duke *Bernard* had the leading:
whoſe place is right over the letter K.

X 2

L The

L The *Fluss-graben*.

M The Kings Battell or Body of his Army; consisting of 8 Brigades of Foot: whereof 4 were in the *Van*, and 4 in the *Reere*. Each Brigade, hath 6 Peeces of Cannon before it.

N The Millers house.

O The towne of *Chursitz*.

The Numbers of the *Van*, or first *Front*.

The Right Wing.

1 The *Finland* Horse, commanded by Colonell *Stolhanshe*.

2 The *West-Goths* Horse Regiment.

3 The *Ingermanlanders* Horse. } All these fixe Regiments of Horse of the

4 The *Vplanders*. } Right Wing, were

5 The *Ostro-Goths*. } the Kings owne Sub-

6 The *Smolanders*. } jects.

7 All the 5 Bodies under the number 7, are the Commanded Muskettiers: which lined the *Horse Squadrons*: and were led by the Count of *Eberstein*.

The Battell.

8 The first Brigade of Foot being all *Swedish*: belonging to *Carl Hart*, and led by his Lieutenant-Colonel.

9 The second Brigade of Foot, which was the *Pratarian* Regiment or the *Life Guards*, consisting of *Dutch* and *Swedish*: were led by *Grave Neeles*, a *Swede*. This was also called the *Yellow Regiment*.

10 The

10 The third Brigade of Foote, called the *Blew Regiment*, led by Colonel *Winckle*.

11 The fourth Brigade of Foot, commonly called the *White Regiment*, the *Greene* sayes *Gallobelgicus*. Made up of Duke *Bernards*, and Colonel *Wildensteins* Regiments: which Colonell, now led the Brigade. Here were 200. *Scots* in this Brigade.

The Left Wing.

12 A Squadron of Horfe of Duke *Bernards*.

14 Another of his.

15 Colonel *Karbergs* Regiment.

16 The *Curlanders*, led by Colonell *Wrangle*.

17 The *Lieflanders*, led by Colonell *Tiefenhausen*.

18 A *Germane* Regiment; led by Colonell *Corvile*.

13 All the 5 *Bodies* under this number 13, are the Commanded Muskettiers that lined this Left Wing of Horfe: They were led by Colonell *Gersdorff*.

The Numbers of the *Reere*, or second *Front*:

The Right Wing.

The Horfe of the Right Wing of this *Reere*, were Commanded by Colonell *Bulach*, Sergeant-Major-Generall of the Horfe.

19 Duke *William* of *Saxon-Weymars* Regiment of Horfe, led by his Brother Duke *Ernestus*.

21 Lieutenant-Generall *Goldsteins* Squadron: led by his Lieutenant-Colonel *Rhelinger*.

22 Generall-Major *Bulach* owne Squadron.

23 Colonel *Beckermans* Regiment.

X 3

24 The

24 The *Landgrave of Heffens* Regiment: made up of two weake Regiments: Colonel *Rosteins*, namely, and Colonel *Dalwicks*: this last Colonel, leading the Regiment.

25 Colonel *Iflers* Squadron: who was a Sergeant-Major-Generall: though now hee Commanded his owne men onely.

26 Under this number 20, are the 5 Bodies of Commanded Muskettiers, that lined the 6 Horse Squadrons.

The Battell.

26 The first Brigade of Foote of the Battell, in the Reere or second Front; This was made up of two weake Regiments of the *Electör of Saxonyes*, and Duke *Williams* of *Saxon-Weymar*. This Brigade was led by *Bosen*, the *Electör of Saxons* Colonel.

27 The second Brigade of Foot, belonged to Colonel *Kniphausen*; Sergeant-Major-Generall of the whole Army: who commanded all these foure Brigades in the Reere of the Battell.

28 The third Brigade of Foot, led by the Count of *Thurn*; In this was the Count of *Ebersteins* weake Regiment, and some *Hassians*: which helped to make up the Brigade.

29 The fourth Brigade of Foot, led by Colonel *Mitzlaff*: made up of his owne, *Gerstorffs*, and *Rosses* Regiments.

The Left Wing.

30 The first Squadron of Horse of the Reere of this

this *Left Wing*: led by Baron *Hoffkirck*. These were the Elector of *Saxonyes* men; which he sent unto the King, then at *Norimberg*.

32 A Squadron of the Prince of *Anhalts*.

33 The Count of *Loewensteins* Regiment. These had no Cornets, for that they were newly leuyed; and their Ensignes not yet made. They were led by their owne Sergeant-Major.

34 Colonel *Brandensteins* Squadron.

35 Colonel *Steinbocks*. These being the Kings ordinary Guards, were sent for up into the *Front*, and joyned to the *Smolanders*: the King himselfe fighting at the head of *Steinbocks* Squadron.

36 Colonel *Sticknits* Squadron. Here were some *French* Horſe.

31 Under this number 31. are the 5 Bodies of the Commanded Muskettiers, that lyned the Horſe Squadrons.

37 A *Reſerve* of Foot, for the *Van* of the *Battell*: led by Colonel *Iohn Hinderson*, a *Scottishman*.

38 A *Reſerve* of Horſe for the *Reere* of the *Battell*: led by Colonel *Oeme*, of the *Lower Palatinate*.

Walensteins Army.

39 }
40 } 3 Squadrons of *Crabats*, Light Horſemen.
41 }

42 }
43 } 3 Regiments of *Curiaſtiers*, or men at *Armes*,
44 } being heavy armed Horſemen.

45 }
 46 } 4 Regiments of Foote.
 47 }
 48 }

49 A strong Regiment of Horfe of *Piccolomini's*
 in the head of the Battell. Here (tis said) *Walenstein*
 himfelfe was.

50 }
 51 } 4 Regiments of Foote: with fome lynings of
 52 } Horfe amongft them.
 53 }

54 }
 55 } 2 Regiments of Horfe with Foote among.

56 }
 57 } 3 Squadrons of *Cuirassiers*.
 58 }

59 *Crabats*.

The

THe Swedish Army having staid two dayes at *Weissenfels*, after their fatall and mourning Victory; and having in that time, over-viewed and ordered their Army: they not as yet knowing, the fright the enemy was still in; or whither he might call *Gallas* and his Army to him: resolve to pursue, what the dead King had before the Battell purposed; which was to conioyne with the Dukes of *Saxony* and of *Lunen- burg*. These two Dukes, indeed, had beene united with their 8000. men about *Torgan*; some fortnight or 3. weekes before the Battell: *Lunen- burg* being marcht up so farre, so soone as ever *Pappenheim* had forsaken the *Lower Saxony*.

And they now hearing of the Battell, and of the Imperialists forsaking of *Leipsich*: begin to stirre for the recovery of it. Friday November ninth a little after noone; some 10. or 12. *Saxon* Horsemen come to the *Grummisch* port of *Leipsich*: where professing themselves to be Imperialists; they are admitted. Being gotten in, some one or 2. of them dlogge up, and make good the gate; till another troope of their fellows (then hard at hand) were comne into them. The Court of *The Saxons* guardat the Port, is cut in pieces: and much execution done recover *Leipsich* upon the wearied and unprovided Imperialists. Towards towne; night, the two Dukes of *Altenburg* and *Lunen- burg*, with the three Colonels *Hoffkirck*, *Tauben* and *Pfort*; attended on by 40 troopes of Horsemen and Dragooners: enter also into the Citie. These taking the absolute possession and Mastery of the Towne, give present summons to the Castle of *Pleissenburg*; where there yet was an Imperiall garrison. Saterday being the tenth they order the City, and prepare to besiege the Castle. The 11. they get up three Batteries, where *Holck*, had before done: and made like his, of Horse-dung and Wooll-sacks; with boards over them. That day, the Horse marcht out of the towne: and in the night, 500. Muskettiers came in place of them. Some also, were sent from the Swedish Armie: that all might iojne together in the cleering of the country. All this day the Ordnance thundred so upon the Castle, that a peece of the Bulwarke was beaten flat downe with it. Munday,

day, being the 12th, the castle, about noone, was againe summoned: but the Governour *Moxer*, not onely sent his deniall to those Summons; but to all that should be made afterwards: which was, a vowe to live and die in his owne defence: and as for mercy or conditions, he expected none from them: nor would he accept of any termes, but what himselfe should offer them. Now therefore are the Ordinance sett to argue the case for both parties: at which mootings: we, for a while, leave them; to tell what was in the meane time done in other parts of the Countrey.

The Swedish
and the Saxons
joyne.

The Swedish Army being parted from *Weissenfels*, and *Naumburg*: Saterday November tenth arrived at *Pegau*. The next day, they moove to *Born*: and thence (as we told you) are some forces sent to *Leipsich*. Generall-Major *Dodo Kniphausen* having intelligence with the Burgers of *Friburg*: repulse that by an *Aenslaught*; and cuts off some 3. or 400. Imperialists in it. Duke *Bernard* does as much, to 2. or 300. *Crabats*, in another little towne thereabouts. Munday November 12th. the Army marcht to *Grim*, where they found themselves to be some 12000. and hither came the *Saxon* and *Lunenburghers* Army to joyne with them. And now it is amongst them resolved; either to pursue the enemy, if he any where durst in the field abide them: or else to reconquer those townes of the Duke of *Saxonyes*: wherein the *Generalissimo* had left any garrisons.

Chemnitz recovered,

Chemnitz is now first set upon, 30. miles up the same river, due South from *Grim*, towards *Bohemia*. Here were the remnants of the 3. Regiments of the *Palant*, *Contreras*, and the dead *Camarga*. Some service was on both sides done, before the towne would render: but my purpose being but to relate things briefly, now since the Kings death: I shall onely affoord you the generall *Ails* and *Articles*. Upon these conditions, was the place rendred.

and
the conditions.

1. That the Imperiall Governour should give over the towne; and leave all his Gunnes, Ammunition, Victuals, and Ensignes unto the *Swedes* and *Saxons*.

2. That

2. That no Protestant, were hee *Ecclesiasticall* or *Lay-person*; should bee forcibly carryed away by the Imperialists: nor should any harme or damage bee done to them.

3. That the Imperialists should not, (either now or hereafter) make demands to the Elector of *Saxonyes* subjects, of any thing due for *Contribution* or upon any other colour: nor should be troublesome to them for that matter.

4. The Governour, so soone as ever the Articles were signed; should deliver up the towne keyes: and should draw up all his souldiers together into the place of *Parade*, in the market-*stead*: and that without matches lighted, or any come of powder, or bullet of lead, about them.

5. Both Governour and Souldiers, *Ecclesiasticks*, sicke and wounded people, should so soone as ever they requested it; have leave to goe out of the towne: but yet without sound of Drummes and Trumpets, and with no other weapons, but their swords onely.

6. The Governour should have leave to carry away his owne baggage, upon his owne Horses and Waggon: of which, none of the other Officers, should have more then one a-piece. As for the common souldiers, they should carry away no more, then they could beare upon their backs.

7. If any of the garrison were disposed, to turne to the Protestant Partie: the Governour should attempt nothing against them, in prejudice either of their lives or honours.

8. The Governour and his souldiers should be convoyed as farre as *Frieberg*, who should bee bound from plundering or burning any thing by the way, in the Duke of *Saxonyes* Dominions. And in lieu of the souldiers that should convoye them, they were to leave pledges for their safe returne: after which, the pledges should have their Passes.

9. In these Articles, should not those common harriers and plunderers, the *Crabats*; by no means be comprehended.

10. If in any tittle, these Articles should be proved to bee infringed, the Governour was to bee laid hold of: and the conditions to be of no force, against the besiegers.

Shall I call these 10. *Articles*, or 10. *Commandements*? for as yet have I seldome read, that any enemy did not scorne to yeeld up his towne, upon such unfouldierly and dishonourable conditions: who was not forced by *Storme*, to yeeld at *Mercy*. Looke all *History* over: and you shall hardly find me 10. such *Articles*: scarcely worse; and upon that, I dare give you the booke you find them in. By this you see, what estate the Imperiall Army was in. Let all that side hereafter, forbear to say, that theirs had the victory at *Lutzen*; seeing that so suddenly after it, and within 25. *English* miles of *Bohemia*, three Imperiall Regiments did yeeld up such a towne, upon such pittifull conditions.

Kniphausen
goes to *Leipsich*
Castle.

Chemnitz being taken, the *Swedish* Army is devided: Generall-Major *Kniphausen*, being with some forces sent to *Leipsich*, to hasten on the taking of the Castle: whilest Duke *Bernard* sent out Partees every way, to skowre the coast of the Imperialists. *Kniphausen* being comne to *Leipsich*, and some greater peeces of Battery brought thither from *Dresden*, the siege is gone on more sadly withall. I finde (I confesse) writing for 2. or 3. fallyes made by the Imperialists: and of an offer made by the besiegers, to breake the ground and to begin their *Approaches*, (one Moone-light night) right against the *Thomas Gate*. But I write no more particulars. Let it suffice to know, that on Sunday December 24. the Governour *Mözer* (for all his stoutnesse) was faine to condescend to these 9. *Articles*: which had they beene of his making (which hee before protested to stand upon) I suppose they would have beene more favourable to his partie.

Pleissenburg
Castle taken,

1. That

1. That the Governour with his Officers and souldiers, ^{The Con-} that defended the Castle, as also the *Ecclesiasticks*, sicke ^{ditions,} and wounded people, shall depart out of it the day following.

2. The Governour shall be bound, either this night, or to morrow morning; to deliver up his prisoners, whither *Churchmen*, or of the *Laity*.

3. That neither Governour nor souldiers, shall now or hereafter, pretend any thing upon the subjects of the Elector of *Saxony*.

4. The Governour and his Officers shall have leave to carry away their owne baggage: provided there were nothing amongst it, belonging unto any of the *Electors* subjects. As for the common souldiers, they shall march out with no more, then they could carry upon their shoulders.

5. The Governour shall leave all his Ordnance, Artillery, Ammunition, Provisions, Armour, and whatsoever else was necessary for defence; behind him in the Castle.

6. And so shall he doe with his Ensignes, if hee hath any.

7. The Governour shall not onely bee bound, but give sureties for it; that he should have no powder-mines in the Castle: nor should his souldiers doe any other wrong to it, at their departure.

8. The Governour shall pretend nothing, either against their lives or honours; that were disposed to turne to the *Protestant* party.

9. Lastly, That by vertue of this agreement, the Governour with his Officers and souldiers, might freely come out of the Castle; and should have a *Saxon Convoe*, even to the Frontiers of *Bohemia*: provided that he left *hostages* for the returne of the *Convoe*.

Articles, within a very little, as lowly as the former: and yet upon these was *Pleissenburg* Castle rendred, December 3^d. being Munday. The *Saxons* having delivered the imperialists upon the Frontiers of *Bohemia*, the Boores there,

not suffering them to enter: beate them backe as farre as *Ansbürg* in *Misnia*: where they were forced to become *Swedish*. This I find writing for: but I wonder how *Walenstein* would use these Boores for it?

I passe by smaller rencounters; because I hasten (like the *Swedish*) to cleere the greater towne, of the Imperialists. And they, it appeares, made such hast to doe it, that they gave farre better conditions to the next towne, (for a packing penny) then they had done to both the former. T was now in the depth of Winter, when as the souldiers would faine be in their *Quarters*; and their two Commanders (Duke *Bernard* and *Kniphausen*) at *Dresden*. Thither the *Protestant* Princes, began to come and send, to the holding of a *Dyer*: and to consult together, how the Warres were to be prosecuted, now after the death of the great *Director of the Warre*, the incomparable King of *Sweden*.

Pleissenburg Castle being taken, and restored (like *Chemnitz*) to the Elector of *Saxony*: Generall-Major *Kniphausen* goes with the Army unto *Zwick*; which by this time Duke *Bernard* had given a girdle to. And now are the *Saxon* Forces, returned againe towards *Silesia*: for that thereabouts, the Imperialists began a-new to bustle.

The Baron de *Swiss*, was now Governour of *Zwick*; and he preparing for defence, burnes downe the Suburbs; fortifies and mans the great Church, the Towne-house, and Castle. Duke *Bernard* and *Kniphausen* (to be briefe) making up Batteries of Timber-worke; upon the fifteenth of *December*, began to talke in the tone of thunder to them: By this, in tenne dayes space, the besieged were brought downe to lower and milder language: and contented upon *Christmas Day*, to take this cold *Pye* to their dimers. Then were these *Articles* concluded upon.

1. That by 5. a clocke on Saint *Johns* day in the morning, the Governour and souldiers, belonging either unto his Imperiall Maiesty, or unto the *Catholike Leaguers*; should with flying Ensignes, Drummes beating, matches lighted, bullet
in

and
the conditions.

in the mouth, and full Armes; depart out of the City: carrying along with them, some field peeces; of powder, bullet, leade, and match, of each 2000. weight.

2. That the Foote forces, shall take all their Horses, Wagons, Baggage, Moveables, and their *Leaguer-servants*; along with them, without molestation.

3. That the Horsemen, servitors either to the Emperor or the *Leaguers*, of what nation or quality soever they are; shall have leave to march out compleatly. That is to say, with Horses, Saddles, Pistols, Carabines, and Cornets: and with their Baggage in like manner, as was granted to the Foote-forces.

4. That the Imperiall Commissary *Conradus à Schleisburg*, shall also be comprehended in the Treaty.

5. That the sicke and wounded men, shall goe out upon the same termes with the other: who if they want Wagons to carry them away: the Duke will please to allow them some: or else to suffer them so long to stay in the City, and be carefully looked unto, till they be thorowly cured. After which, they shall be suffered to depart, without molestation. To this end, shall order be given to the *Swedish* and *Saxon* souldiers; that the Baron *De Suvis* and his souldiers (Horse and Foote) be suffered to depart, without wrong or molestation.

6. The *Swedish* assure also, that they shall not goe about, either by money or other waies; to debauch or inveigle away any of the Imperiall souldiers, into their service.

7. The departing Imperialists, shall have a sufficient Convoe, (of 2. or 300. Horse at least) under some Commander; to guard them as farre as *Preswitz* in the way to *Commotba*: who shall not enforce them to march above two *Dutch* leagues a day.

Vpon these honorable conditions, went the Baron *De Suvis* out of *Znicka*: attended with a garriison of 1150. Foot, under 15. flying Ensignes: and 600. *Crabats*, with some other Horsemen. Two hundred and fifty Waggon-loads of Baggage

Baggage and Ammunition, he had along: and was, in state and leisure, conveyed into the very borders of *Bohemia*. The *Swedish*, towards the end of the Market, were contented to afford good penny-worths: for this being the last towne of the Elector of *Saxony*, possessed by the Imperialists; the Countries of *Saxony*, *Voitland*, and *Misnia*, were now quite cleared of them. And then was the over-harassed, tyred, and victorious Army, put into their winter-Quarters.

The Army put
into Quarters.

Oxenstiern com-
ming,

the Army is
derided.

Kniphausen
made Felt-
Marshall: and
sent into the
Lower-Saxony.

And by this time was that wise *States-man*, the *Reichs-Chancellor Axel Oxenstiern*, come into the Countrey. He first convoking the Military Commanders, unto *Altemburg*, (as I take it) some part of the glorious Conquerors *Will and Testament*, was made knowne unto them. And whereas the King in his life time, had appointed *Dodo Baron of Inhausen* and *Kniphausen*, to goe with an Army into the *Lower-Saxony*; and to have the Title of a *Felt-Marshall*: the *Swedish* Army is thereupon divided: part remaining to that valiant young Prince; Duke *Bernard of Saxon-Weymar*, and another smaller part, going along with the new *Felt-Marshall*.

Both these Armies, (as also all those other of the severall *Swedish* Commanders about *Germany*) were to take their orders and directions, from the Lord Chancellor: who was to command all in chiefe; by virtue of the *Commission* which the King had given him: of being *Perpetuall Ambassador to the Armies*. This is that ancient and honorable Title among the *Romans*, called *Legatus ad exercitum*: For the pleasure therefore, and better understanding of the Readers; give me leave to rub up my old notes, and to deduce this Office from Antiquity.

The *Romane Senate*, still used to send some of the prime Nobility, and skilled in the warres, unto the Generall: whose counsells and directions he was to have regard unto, in all but in the manner of fighting the Army. T was the honourablest military employment of all, and the most reverend. The *Ambassador to the Armies*, hath in him both the power of a *Generall*, and the sacrednesse of a *Priest*: sayes *Dionysius lib. xi^o*. speaking of *Lucius Siccinius*. Hence the *Greekes* stiled them

them Προβουτοι & Συμβουτοι; Elders and Counsellors. When there was a *Romane Dictator* (an absolute sovereign and Military Emperour, or more) then hee appointed his owne *Ambassador*. Then also he commanded him: and so did the *Consul* too, when he was abroad as *Generall* of the Army. *Dolabella me sibi Legavit*; saies *Cicero*. *Consull, Generall Dolabella*, hath appointed me his *Ambassador*. Their place was above the *Tribunes*. They were chosen out of the *Senators*: and when there was no *Dictator* upon the Army; then had they a solemne election by the whole *Senate*. *Legati ex Senatorum ordine*: and, *ex Senatoria auctoritate legarentur*, saies *Cicero*. Chosen out of the *Senate*, and by it. *Legati*, publice lecti; quorum opera consilioque uterentur, perigere Magistratus. They were chosen publicly: and the *Magistrates* sent abroad into the *Provinces*, were to use their counsell and assistance. *Cicero* in *Uatin*; calls them *Nuncios pacis & belli*: *Curatores, Interpretes*: *bellici consilij Auctores*; *Ministros munneris Provinciae*. *Heralds* and *Denouncers* of peace and warre: *Curators* and *Interpreters*, *Authors* of military directions; *Administrators* of the affaires in the *Provinces*.

In this they differed from the *Imperator* or *Great Generall*. *Alie sunt Legati partes, alie Imperatoris*. *Alter, omnia agere ad prescriptum, alter liberè ad summam rerum consulere debet*, saies *Cesar*: The *Generall* is to execute according to the words of his *Commission*: but the *Ambassador*, may extraordinarily give his advice, upon the highest point of the businesse. In the *Generalls* absence from the Army, the *Ambassador* kept the state: he had his *Lifitors* and his *Secures*; his *Sergeants* with the *Axe* and *Rods* to goe before him. *Verrès in Achaia, sumptu publico & legationis nomine; cum imperio & securibus missus est*: saies *Cicero*. *Verrès* was sent into *Achaia* upon the charges of the *Common-wealth*, and the title of an *Ambassador*: with command and state.

There were 2. degrees of these *Ambassadors*, among the *Romans*: *Consulares*, and *Pratorii*. The first sort, was for the whole Army: the other were but *Duces*, *Colonels* to their

Z

Brigades,

Brigades, Regiments, or Divisions. Augustus Caesar, did all abroad in the *Provinces*, by the first: whom *Tacitus* calls *Consulares*. And of this dignity (as neere as ancient orders may be compared to new imitations) is the Lord *Axel Oxenstiern*, Baron of *Kinnish*, Lord of *Fiholmen* and *Tydoen*, Præfident of *Lapland* and of the *North Marches*, Knight, &c. *Councellor* and *Chancellor* of the Kingdome of *Sweden*; and *Ambassador* *Generall* and *Perpetuall*, unto the *Armies* in *Germany*.

And here must I conclude my *Story* (my unpolisht and unworthy *Story*) of the most incomparable valiant and good Prince; that ever (yet) honored any age or *Story*. The *Protestants* and well affected party (me thinks) may well bee compared unto the 2. Bookes of the Prophet *Jeremy*. *Experience*, is a kind of *Prophet*. People, therefore, certaine in experience of what he *had done*; were so strong in hopes, of what he *would doe*: that they even seem'd to prophesie. But now, alas! when their hopes are fail'd, they conclude with *Jeremies Lamentations*: *Iosiah* is dead, and well they may *lament* him. How likely, (had God spar'd him life) he was to have fulfilled all mens hopes; and how deservedly, he is now to be lamented: See here (good Reader) by this following, course *Character* of him.

The



The Character
Of the High and Mighty Prince,
and most victorious Conqueror *Gustavus*
Adolphus, King of *Sweden*, &c.

Wherein the best of those conceits, in
Le Soldat Suedois, are not neglected.

THat this Prince was a *Descendant* by the *Male-line*, not from a *Kingly Stemme*, onely, but from a *Family of Deliverers*: and that his *Nobility* by the * *Females*, is of a more ancient extraction, then the vulgar *Heraldry* hath yet taught us: are the advantages of his *Birth*, the additions to his *Inheritance*, and the commendations of his *Fortune*. Nor could lesse be expected to the propagating of such a Prince; then a *Crowned Merit* and *Nobility*; in his *Ancestors*. And that, not of the *first head* onely: least it should have beene mistaken for a *chance* of *Natures*, and not an

* By his great Grandmother; descended of the ancient *Gottori* and *Fulcones*, Dukes & Kings of *Sweden*. His Fathers line being from *Trolle* and the *Trollioes*, Knights and Councillors of *Sweden*, of 4000. yeers standing. A Knight, of a Knights family there, is equall in esteeme with the, as amongst vs those are, of the Garter.

He was borne
in December
1594.

Industry; but to produce the *Conqueror of Germany*, there was the preparation of many *Ages*, required. Like as in the delicatest *Fruite-trees*: tis not enough, that the *Cyon* be of a *noble Stocke*; but that it be bettered by many *Engraftings* and *Removings*. *Ancient, descending, and continued Merite* and *Nobility*, derived from the loynes of many *Ancestors*: nothing lesse could have begotten such a *King of Sweden*. *Sweden* glories in his *Birth*; thats *Her* honour: but his *Pedigree* and *Alliances*, are from *Germany*. The more *kindly* and *naturall*, therefore, was his *ambition* to *deliver* it: and the lesse exception lay there, to his being a *Stranger*. To be a signe, of whence he was descended; were his 2. names given him. *Gustavus*, hath beene the ancient *Christian* name of divers of the *Kings of Sweden*: though none of them till his carrying it, put the world into the conceit, that it was the *Anagramme* of *Augustus*. *Adolphus* hath beene the bearing of the *Houles of Holstein* and of *Mecklenburg*; from both which, he lineally was extracted. So was He borne, and thus *Christned*.

His youth was bred up, with royall exercises: such as might season him with *Vertue* and *Religion*, and prepare him for *grand busineses*. His body, though brought up, Princely; yet not Cocknied up, tenderly: nor with too much soft, and warme, and gaye, and sweeteffeminated. The *Poets* faine, that *Mars* was borne in this Country: who had never prov'd the *Gad of Warre*, had not his body beene enured to the Frost, and Ice, and Rocks, and hardship of this *Northerne Clymate*. His spirit, was by the
tutorage

tutorage of the best learning and examples, so elevated; as to esteeme no good designe too high for him: fortified with a courage, that knew not how to stoop beneath a King; and (like his sword, afterwards) tempered with so irresistable, and steely an edge, as should cut thorow all dangers and necessities. At home, he learned *Latin*; in *Italy*, *Mathematicks*; other where abroad, the *French*, *Italian*, and *Germane* languages: all which as he learned very readily, so he spake as promptly and elegantly. Travaile refin'd and furnisht him: yea he privately travailed *Germany*, under the concealed name of Mr. **G A R S*, even after he was King of *Sweden*.

* This assumed
appellation,
was made up
of the 4. first
letters of his
Title *Gustavus
Adolphus Rex
Sueciae*.

At 16. yeeres old, hee was not onely a souldier, but a Colonell; and though the youngest, yet (perchance) not the unskilfullest, of his Fathers Army. Next yeere, which was Anno 1611. King *Charles* his Father dyed: when himselfe, then but a *Minor* of 17. yeeres of age, was called to the Kingdome. The entry into his reigne, was the tryall of his education: his Father left him embroyled with the *Dane* and *Muskovite*; and shortly after, began the *Polander* to confront him. The pretences of these Princes, were indeed much different: but in the ruine of a young King, they all had the same intentions. *Poland* claimed the *Crowne*; *Denmarke* and the *Muskovite*, put in to recover what bordering lands they had before claimed; and which, had either beene conquered from them, by his Ancestors, or freely for merite granted them, by the others. I wil not write a *Story*, where I intend but a *Character*. Let this suffice to

know; that he gate the better of all 3. Nations, both upon the greene grasse, and upon the greene Carpet: in the field, I meane, and upon the Treaty.

Anno 1617.

Two of his young schollers prizes, twere pittie to passe over. In his warre with the *Muskovite*, hee would needs lay siege to *Notteburg* Castle: which among other lands, the *Muskovite* had granted his Father, for his service: The place of this, is upon an Iland; in the middle of the mouth, of the most raging swift river of *Nerva*, and at least Culvering shot, from either shoare of it. His Colonells, not willing their young King should receive a checke in his rising fortunes, by attacking an impossibility: disswade the Action: himselfe onely remaining constant to pursue it. See how God Almighty made our young *Iosua*, to be honoured among his people. The *Muskovites* proved to have such *thrushes*, and *warts*, and *blisters*, growing in the insides of their throates and mouthes; that they could neither feede nor swallow: so that having abundance of Ammunition, and a whole yeeres victuals by them; yet came they out and yeelded up the Castle to him. An impregnable piece! which could neither be battered, starved, nor have a bridge laid over to it. That yeere, tooke he another Castle, almost as strong: whereupon the *Muskovite* was glad to make King *James* his good friend; to procure his peace with the young *Sweden*.

See the booke
called *Descriptio
Regni Sueciae*.

Some while after this, had hee a difference with the *Dantzickers*: who man'd out 20. or 30. good Ships of Warre; with the first opening of the Spring,
to

to have burnt up his Navy in the Harbour. T was about the end of winter then, when his long and narrow *Swedish* Sea, was a yeard or two deepe frozen. This Ice, our young King causing his Boores (for 10 or 12. *English* miles together) to cut open; came with his Fleet in the night, upon the *Dantzickers*; and burnt, funke, spoyled, or tooke the most of them.

In his Warres with his Vnckle *Sigismund* King of *Poland*, hee conquered so many townes from him, both in *Prussia* and *Livonia*: that the *Pole* was enforced to request the mediation of King *Charles* and the *French* King, to make up a peace for 6. yecres betwixt them: which hee afterwards desired to bee perpetuated. This was concluded September 29. 1629: King *Sigismund* acknowledging *Gustavius Adolphus* to be King of *Sweden*; and in his Treaty, fo styling him.

Sir Thomas Roe
was our Kings
Ambassador.

And thus, wheresoever this young *Mars* entred; the dread of his *Armes* and *Name*, were as full of terror to the enemy-Country, as *Annibal* sometimes unto the *Romanes*: nor ever returned he out of them, but with the *Olive* and the *Palme* branches; the *Emblemes* of *Peace* and *Victory*.

*Annibal ad
portas.*

But these Northern *Trophies* upon his next neighbours, though they had much of *glory*; yet have they much of *Credit* and possibility, also in them: but *Chronicle* and *Beliefe* must straine hard, to make his *Germane* Conquests any thing probable, with posterity: and were they not written in the times of the doing, and acknowledged by his enemies: scarcely would the *Legend* be more *Apocryphall*. For what credulity,

credulity, (not facile to be abused) could perswade it selfe, that 2. third parts of *Germany*, could (and by him that entred but with 11000. men, and that two moneths after his landing in *Pomerania*, had not 10000. dollars to pay his Army) in 2. yeeres and 4. moneths space, be wrested from so puissant an Emperour: A mighty Empire and a potent; formidable for its greatnesse; confident upon the power of its Colleagues and Vpholders; vast in its extent; terrible for its Armes and Captaines; renowned for its Conquests; beyond expectation, successfull in all its enterprises: and that knew no bounds, but the *Alpes* and the *Ocean*. And yet this Empire, which either with its Armies, or garrisons: if not by a cheaper way, the meere reputation of what it had, or might doe; held so many Princes at a *Baye*: was it selfe constrained to take on the yoake, which *Swedens* Gantlett put upon it. In lesse then 2. yeeres and a halfe, he did all this: what might he more have atchieved, had he gone on another yeer and 2. moneths: and fil'd up the time of that malicious and false prediction, which the *Iesuits* had cast abroad of him? They comforted their credulous *Novices*, with his being *Antichrist*; and that he should raigne 3. yeeres and a halfe, and no longer.

The beleeffe of his conquering so much, will be the more facilitated: if we could but conceive (once) his familiar way of doing it: he made but a *Comedy* of the warres: which others are so solemne upon; and make so full of *Tragedy*. I will give but two examples. Comming before *Elbing* with an Army, scarce so strong as their garrison; he after Summons
and

and Hostages, wormes out by faire words, the Burgomaster and some great ones, to his Tent unto a Parlee. Himselfe, in the meane time, with some few of his Gentlemen, goes to the Ports and desires to come in as a traeller, to please his sight onely, with the rarities of their City. Such pleasancy of words and conceit he used, that the Citizens were as desirous to see the King of *Sweden*, as he to take their City. Being in, he walkes gazing up and downe, the people flocking still after him. Now in truth good people (saies he) if I had thought you had desired to see the King of *Sweden*, I would have put on my best cloathes to day. What need you feare mee? my *Swedes* and *Fins* shall be your drudges, cleave wood, fetch water, and doe you any servilitie: and with that he calles a stubbed *Finn* to him, and commands him to remoove some lumber, or piece of rubbish. This said, he goes into a Stationers shop, and there calles for *Buchanans Poems*: just as in such a case *Alexander* sometimes did, for *Homers Iliades*. And thus the Burgomaster knowing, that the King was in the towne, and He being sure, that the Burgomaster was in His Tent: the composition became the easier. At that very strong towne of *Konigsheuen* in *Franconia*, after this, showed hee another example of this facetious facilitie. Having summoned the towne, hee rides up along towards the Ports: where when hee saw the guards blowing their matches, and making ready to shoote him: *Sacrament* (sayes he) if you make but one shot, the King shall know of it, and he hath vowed that not a man of you shall have

a a

Quarter.

Quarter. But if you will treat fairely, you shall have your owne conditions. This was his order (mostly) in taking of a towne: he would not stand entrenching and building *Redoubts*, at a miles distance: but clap downe with his Army presently, about Cannon shot from it. There would he begin his Approaches, get to their wals, Batter and Storme, presently: and if hee saw the place were not by a running pull to be taken: hee would not lose above 4. or 6. dayes before it; but rise and to another. And thus did he at *Ingolstat*.

Tis a hard taske to give you the just portraiture of this Prince: he was so perpetually in action, that he seldome gave himselfe time to sit, to have it taken. But these (in generall) are the rough drawings of his, personall excellencies. He bare a Port and Presence, full of a gracious Majestie; full flesh, and fact: a rich and a gallant stature, two yeards and above: a hawkes eye; the world thought an Eagles. His more then flaxen-coloured haire, inclined to the colour of *Apolloes*: a signe hee had much of the *Sunne* in him. His tone of speech, was of a manly and a masterly pronounciation: and his answers were quicke, full, smart, but not gybing: cleane limb'd he was, strong, active, and hardy: made up as fitly for a King, as for a Generall. But for the guest that reign'd in this Palace, and actuated it; his *minde*, and his *spirit*: thats to be best guesst at by his Conquests. An undaunted courage, a strong judgement, an admirable quicknesse of conceit, a naturall vigilancy and indefatigableness, a marucilous forecast, with the

the best advantage to apprehend and dispose of his occasions: these were his *personall forces*, that conquered so much of *Germany*. Looke else into his Leaguer. See there his encamping, his fortifying, his new wayes of fighting, and embatteling; his orders, his provisions, his directions, and the soule and spirit of all these, his owne diligences: and then tell me, how he were easie to be resisted. An excellent dexterity, besides, was he endowed withall, to extricate and untrangle the *Gordian* knottinesse of a businesse; the master-spirit he had, over all that came before him, a gift, withall to take the advantage of mens humours; and a native attraction in him, to winne hearts, as well as Provinces. A great Student hee was, upon any businesse of importance: and when his *Chancellor* was with him, a diligent disputer and *Canvasser* of the Answer, which he was to give to Ambassadors.

He would have the proiecting of the designe, still to passe from his owne invention; seldome calling a formall *Councell of Warre*; and yet not despising to aske upon the *Bye*, the advices of his Commanders. He contented not himselfe to be the Generall of an Army, but he would be a Captain, yea a Sergeant of a band; an Enginier, a Common souldier, a Canonier: all, or any thing. The surprise and suddennesse of a danger, seldome astonied his iudgement: but the more desperate the peril were, the nimbler, commonly, was he in his deliveries; still shewing most vigor, where there was most need of it. There was not an enterprize to be gone upon, nor beneath the honour

of a Colonell; but let the danger be what it would, he would leade on the Partee. And 'twas an astonishment to behold, that he was not onely not worn out with the assiduity of his labours and his hardships; but that he battned and grew fat upon action: comming fresh off from one, and still prest and ready for another enterprize. Hee grew fat, I say, not with eating and drinking; no Prince was more temperate then he, those wayes. His feeding was upon strong and souldierly dishes: not such delicacies, as were dainty of taste, and easie of digestion; but such lusty, bearing meates, as would encrease strength, and make resistance in the stomacke. Drinking, hee was not taxt for: and notwithstanding it be the Northerne way of sinning; yet came not he to out-drinke the *Germanes*: they were not that way to be conquered. Briefly, that Northerne corner of the world, hath not brought forth a Prince of his *temper*, and *temperance*; or a man so generally well put together, in all imaginable abilities and perfections; to make a Generall of. And so much, have the contriving and conduct of his designs, manifested; which he had even almost given their period unto.

I have left out the best part yet, and that was his *Religion*; his devotion in his *Religion*, (publike and private) and his frequent *Prayers* and *Thanksgivings*, (especially upon all eminenter occasions) were the things that rendred him admirable. He would pray a ship-board, and a shoare, in the Field, and in the midst of a Battell: as if *Prayer* alone, were the surest piece of all his whole Armour. And in his open
Prayers,

Prayers, this one thing is of all the rest, most considerable; That as other times he had sworne, publicly sworne; that his purposes were not to *Conquer*, but to *Deliver*: so in his Prayers for divine assistance, would he boldly appeale to God the searcher of the hearts, that Hee knew his intentions to be no other. That a Prince, now, should thus dare it in the face of Heaven; and call downe just vengeance from thence, if he meant not Gods glory in sinceritie: they must be his enemies, that will not beleieve it.

The greatest imperfection of his body, was that his eyes were dimme sighted: that though he could forsee (no eye better) yet could he not discern farre from him. The greatest infirmitie of his minde, was his *Cholericknesse*: a passion, indeed which he could not so well controll; and which would easily, now and then, burst forth, upon a slight, or *imagined* provocation. But this was an inbred humour, not a humorousnesse in him: and the usuall uncorrected vigorousnesse of those Spirits it is, that have a richer allowance of Spirit and Fire in them. This though it must be confessed, to be a peccancy, and a distemper; yet is it to be observed withall, that of the predominances of the 4. Humours, this principally renders a man fit for action. And truly, it might in him the better be excused, for that hee was still enchaft with businesse; and had so many dispositions of men, and succeses of affaires, to encounter withall: especially sometimes, when hee found but awckwardnesse. This fault indeed, was he noted for: and tis for him that writes his *Apologie*, not his *Character*; to
aa 3 deny

deny or defend it. And yet this helpe there was for it: that upon a very little consideration, hee would take himselfe with the manner, and take up, presently: and with a gracious debonnairenesse and sweetnesse, (which was naturall to him) give checke to the over-lashing of some lesse advised and indigested speeches, that had in choler slipt from him. Ready, besides, of himselfe, he was, to give satisfaction: not unto the *Grandees* and *Chieftes* onely of his Armies, whose merits and services might take the more exceptions to such vsage: but euen to the common souldiers also, who ought not to stand vpon such *puntilioes* with a King their Generall. This would he doe easily; especially where he found himselfe vsed like a King, and sued vnto.

Himselfe would say, when he tooke notice now and then, of this touchinesse of his owne nature, so apt with a little spark to take fire: *That he must endure, ever and anon, the diversities of their humours; the flegme of some, and the drinke of others: and that in equity, therefore, they ought something the better to beare with his cholericknesse.* And an indifferent temper in men, would have passed by this infirmirie in him; could they have but considered the multitudes and varieties of those greater thoughts, which were still agitated in that ever working braine and spirit of his; wound up, and labouring upon the stretch, without intermission. A man, me thinkes, should doe with a bad humour in a Prince, as with a bad Angell: give him his full Graines, and Allowances; and then weigh him. But if you please to put into the other skale, those

those extraordinary many vertues in him : his sweetnesse of disposition; his easinesse of accessse; the familiarnesse of his carriage; his care that every common souldier should have his due; and his moderation in the greatnesse of his successes; not thinking his shadow one spanne the more spreading: then surely, the beame would so cast it on the better side, that his choler would seeme but as the dust of the balance, to them.

But yet another fault was there in this most excellent Prince, which (now) hath spoyl'd all the rest. That, namely, his courage suffered his Iudgement no better to distinguish, betwixt the duties of a common *Carabin*, and a *Generall* of an Army; but would adventure the *King*, as farre as the *Leader* of a *Partee*: and that, by consequence, he tooke no better care for the saving and sparing of the best blood of the Army; but was too too prodigall an unthrif of it. The marvaile is not, that he was so hazardous of it, in a Cause so glorious; but that in all those encounters, he lost no more of it: his owne life, perpetually, being as farre and forwardly engaged, and still running the same hazards; with the meanest of his Army. But yet for taking off this blame from him; this, in his discharge, is to be said: That that naturall constitution of his, not of fire onely, but of flame; made all the valour and couragiousnesse of his Army, beholden unto his example: and that the well speeding of his so many victories, was principally to be ascribed to his presence in the encounters: the very sight of such a Leader, like some puissant *Aspect*
in

in the heavenly *Constellations*, infusing a secret influence and irradiation of courage into his owne; and of fright and terrour, into his enemies.

And by these excellencies, arrived hee to this height of glory: even of a military glory. And see what a true-rai'd Fame can doe! it hath something in it, not onely beyond the nature of an *Eagle*, but of a *Starre*, too; for the higher aire this Prince wrought himselfe up into, the fuller, still, and the liker *Statua*, his vertues have appeared; and he bigned upon the eye of envie, in his *Mountie*. Bodies meere-ly made up of *craft* or *fortune*, doe out of cunning-nesse affect to conceale their owne greatnesse. Like *Mercury* among the *Planets*; who though of a fiery and a flushing luster: yet so politicke a Courtier and close a waiter he is, (and that upon industry:) as by ever crowding neere the Sunne, hee hath gained to walke so farre obscured under his Masters glories; that his devoutest servants (the *Astronomers*) can seldome or never procure the sight of him. Whereas *Bodies* made up of true *worth* and *substance*; are like the *Sunne* it selfe, then arrived to the brightest of his Beauties; when in the highest degree and *Meridian*, of his *Exaltation*.

And this is something, towards the *Character* of the King of *Sweden*, whilest he was. And alas that I must say, *Whilest he was*! Now would I give all my part in *Grammer*, to alter but one *Tense*, and to say *He is*. But because *He is* no more amongst us, this *Character* and *Story* of his; may serve in stead of his *Picture*; to conserve his memory. I confesse I
am

am not *Limner* cunning enough, to give every part of him, his true *stelling* and proportion: nor have I the Art, either with *sweete* touches or *bold* and *masterly* stroaks, so to *heighten* up my Peece, or make it to *stand off*; as every way to be like him. In this onely doe I please my selfe, that those who have had the honour to be about his person; may here refigure a touch or two, that come something neere the *Life* of him. This, also, I assure my selfe of; that those nobler foes, who have sometimes beene made feeble his Armes: will be amongst the liberallest to contribute towards his praises; if it bee but onely to take off something, from their owne losses; to justify their owne disgraces, and to show that no man inferiour to this *Character*, could have beene thus active and successfull upon them.

That which is admirable beyond all the rest, is, That this Prince hath left the affaires behind him, in an estate seeming aduantageous to both parties. The one side, thinke the scales turn'd, by his killing. His owne Allies, he left in possession of more then two third parts of *Germany*: of the better townes, and the greater rivers; even from the *Vistula* in *Muscovia*, unto the *Rhine* and *Danuby*: the *Oder*, the *Elb*, the *Danuby*, the *Lech*, the *Mayne*, and the *Rhine*; all these are witnesses of his personall *Trophees*: and so are the *Weser* and the *Mosel*, of others of his Captaines. To continue these Conquests, hee left seven faire Armies behind him, with their Generals. In the *Vpper Saxony*, his owne, to Duke *Bernard*; in the *Lower Saxony* a 2^d. under Baron *Kniphausen*: In *Silesia* a

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third,

third, under *Dubalt*. In *Bavaria* a fourth, under the *Palatine Birckenfeldt*. About *Cullen* a fifth, under *Baudissin*: in *Alsacia* a sixth, under *Gustavus Horn*: and *Schwabland* a seventh, under the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, and Sir *Patrick Ruthven*. I reckon not the Saxons: the *Lunenburgers*, the *Bremers*, nor the *Hessens*; because under their owne Princes: though all, whilest he lived, by him as the *Generall Director of the Warrs*, to be commanded. Adde to this, the strength of his Confederacies: all Princes, (excepting those of the *House of Austria*, some few *Italians*, and the *Catholike Leaguers*) being his Allies.

What now remaineth, but that the *Protestant* Princes of the Empire, doe goe on still, to pursue the advantages, which he left unto them, to banish all personall jealousies, and mis-intelligences; to solder up all old ruptures and diuisions; to lay aside the standing upon their *punto's*, and the Heraldry of their *genealogies*; and to suffer the Warres to be conducted, not by Princes of the best Houses, but the greatest abilities; to husband their time and opportunities; to presse action, and not to bee too tedious in their consultations; to take advantage of what is both passed and present; to study how to conserve their owne estates, under that of the Empire; to communicate their counsels, and unite their Forces, for the reducing of *Freedom* and *Religion*. This if they be negligent in; then, all the travels of the deceased King; together with all their owne paines and charges: yea all their Forces, Armies, and advantages; shall not long serve their turnes, but they must become the prey

prey of their enemies, an *Amphitheater* of Tragedies, and an example to posterity of confiscated estates, and of bodies incurably diseased.

And to say the troth, these Princes haue even untill this present, gone so well on; that their vnity hath quite dash't all the exultations of the contrary party: and they have trumped vpon the best of the others hopes; and happily gone beyond the feares of their friends, that still doubted them. They have giuen the world to see, that the Schooling and lessoning of the King, hath made good impression in them: and that the losse of so great a patrone, though it extremely pull'd downe the side; yet hath it caused their motions to be *concentricall*, to goe all one way; and by union, to redouble their vigours.

And yet all this notwithstanding; and that the King of *Sweden* hath left these Princes of his party, in so good estate, that they have the lesse cause to lament the losse of him: they being well set up on their feet againe, and in case to maintaine their owne freedoms. Admit the truth of all this: yet hath the aduerse party, which he gaue checke unto, recovered the better of the *Mate*, since this *King* is taken. Great are their advantages, by the death of this Prince: these few pellets of lead which kill'd him, being worth more to them, then a million of Ducats possibly could have advantaged them. And this losse of him, who was the *Sole Director* of all gave not onely hopes, but probabilities, that now, when the businesse was to fall to bee managed by a many; the diversities of *Cheefes*, would bee so apt

to foment iealousies and mis-intelligences : as that it would give more facility to the contrary party , to conserve what was not yet conquered , to satisfie some privately discontented ; to unite their counsels ; to recall exiled tranquillity ; and firmly , once againe , to re-establiſh a good peace over all the Empire.

If now , the Imperiall party please to make profit , by their former losses : then shall wee see them turne a deafe eare to all bloody and violent counsels ; avoide the enforcing both of Princes and people , to turne desperate , remove all suspitions and bad correspondencies , regaine exasperated spirits , by sweetnesse , and seeke how to raigne by loue , rather then by terrour : no more attempting the breach of the peace and publike faith , under pretence of conscience : it being to be dealt withall by perswasion , and not by enforcing , as having to answer before another Tribunall , then that of mans Iudgement. And hereunto , it appeareth , that this party ought so much the rather to aspire ; because they may have hope even (forthwith and hence forward) to continue in their owne rights and advantages : the death of this King , having cured them of a bodily feare they were deeply already in , least hee should have taken a higher flight , prentented towards new *Diademes* : and fully have verified his *Anagramme* , by changing the name *Gustavus* , into *Augustus*.

What-ever in this dull *Character* of mine , may seeme defective ; is abundantly supplied in this most learned and concise *Epicaph*. Written by an *Honourable Sonne of the Muses* ; and worthy the *Tombe-stone* of the great *Gustavus*.

Epigraphe.

SISTE VIATOR,
NEC DESPONDE ANIMVM;
VT NEQVICQVAM SPERES,
NI MORI SPERES;
VIX EST QVOD METVAS,
NI VIVERE METVAS.
FATO CESSIT VITÆ MORTISQVE ARBITER SVMMVS:
PROXIMVM COELITIBVS NOMEN.
QVIN ILLVD EXIGIS?
DABO.

SED VT LITES LACHRYMIS,
REGI POTENTISS. PIENTISS.

GVSTAVO
QVO SEXTO NOVEMBERIS
NECI DATO

TOTA EVROPÆ FACIES MUTATA EST,
IN PLANCTVM SOLVTIS HVMANISS. QVIRVSCVNQVE.
QVIN MAIORA POSTVLAS?

ACCIPE.

ILLE QVI DISSIDIA PVBLICA, PACE TERMINARE;
PACEM, BONIS ARTIBVS EXCOLERE.

ILLE QVI OPPRESSOS IN SVVM IVS ASSERERE;
ASSERTOS, LIBERTATE DONARE;
LIBERTATEM, SECVRAM REDDERE

AGGRESSVS EST:

PROH DOLOR! INTERIIT:

SED VT SVMMVM ARDVÆ VIRTVTIS EXEMPLVM AVDIAT:

NVLVS, QVIPPE, POST HOMINES NATOS,
BONO PVBLICO

POTIORA INTENTAVIT,
GRAVIORA PASSVS EST.

ABI IAM, SI LICET, IN REM TVAM.

Excerpt

THE RESPONSE UNIT

IN RESPONSE TO

THE REQUEST

FOR THE

PROVISION

OF THE

NECESSARY

MEASURES

FOR THE

IMPLEMENTATION

OF THE

RECOMMENDATIONS

OF THE

COMMISSION

ON THE

PROTECTION

OF THE

ENVIRONMENT

AND

THE

WELL-BEING

OF THE

POPULATION

IN THE

REGION

OF THE

ALPES

AND

THE

Pyrenees

AND

THE

Massif

Central



The Copy of the Swedish Conclusion.

By the
Princes and Peeres of the Kingdome
of Sweden: Which was vnanimously consen-
ted unto by them, at their *Diet* and *Assem-
bly* holden at *Stockholm* on the 14th
of *March*, 1633.

The Originall was printed at *Stockholm*,
by *Ignatius Murer*.



WE vnder-written, the Councell, Peeres,
Earles, Lords, Bishops of Sweden. Gen-
try, Clergie, Officers of Warre, Citi-
zens, and the whole Commonalty who
have beene convoked to this honoura-
ble *Assembly*; as well in our owne names
and behalves, as also in the name and be-
halfe of all the Countries: doe hereby make knowne and cer-
tifie. That whereas it hath pleased Almighty God of his pro-
vidence and good pleasure, so heavily to visit us in this King-
dome, and in so great a measure to afflict us, by taking un-
to himselfe (by bodily death) the renowned high and might-
ty Prince and Lord, *Gustavus Adolphus* King of the *Swedens*
Goshes

Goshes and Vandales, Great Prince of Finland. Duke of Estland and Carellen. Lord of Ingermanland, &c. and to translate his blessed Maiestie (of ever happie and famous memory) out of this vale of misery, into his eternall happinesse and heavenly ioy: and to exchange his temporall Crowne into an everlasting Diademe of glory: and so to have put a period, not onely to his Maiesties carefull and labourious life and dayes, but also to his sufficiently noted and renowned Counsell, worthy actes, couragious and vndaunted spirit; almost incredible, at leastwise wonderfull Victories, against part of the mightiest and most powerfull Princes and Potentates of *Europe*. And which wee chiefly must condole: in him it hath pleased God to take from us our head, our King, our father and *Pater patrie*: Vnder whose worthy, famous, and most excellent raigne, we above all other Nations, in these dolefull and calamitous times; have found our selues without any opposition, in all security, safety and tranquillitie. And which aggravates our misery, it hath not pleased God to suffer any *Heier-Male* to proceed from the loynes of his said blessed Maiesty, to remaine upon, and to possesse his Fathers seate. So that, not without reason, ours and the Kingdomes care and danger is the greater, and we cannot but so much the more take to heart this inestimable losse. Wherefore, upon the Iniunction of the Peeres and Councell of the Realme, at their convening: we have thought good, unanimously and obediently to come together, in the feare of God, and to take into consideration the present State of our Kings Maiesties Heier, as also the State our deare Kingdome. And how the saune may be happily up-held and maintained: and (next under the ayde and helpe of *God*) be defended against all danger and opposition. To this end, we are all of us joyntly and willingly assembled here, and we haue pondered and consulted together, of something which might best conduce to the good of the Realme. And at last, by the helpe of the *Almighty*, and in the name of the *Blessed Trinity*; we have closely united, and strongly bound and tyed our selues:
and

and after this coniunction, promise, and obligation, among our selves, we have confirmed and established, That which is here underwritten, and as followeth.

I.

1. Article.

Imprimis. Whereas the death of our blessed and renowned King, hath caused a Kingly raigne to cease among us : and the Cause so being, that there is no *Heir-Male* left behind his Maiesty : nor any Children of any Hereditary Prince ; which might by undoubted right, succeed according to the Lawes and constitution of the Realme. We have not disapproved of that, which was concluded at *Workoping*, Anno 1604. concerning the *Renewing of the Hereditary coniunction*; and concerning the *Daughters of our Kings and Heir-Princes* : which in that assembly was confirmed and enacted. As also that, which unanimously and ioyntly was concluded by us here present, at *Stockholm*, Anno 1627. on the 4th of December, as followeth. That in case his blessed and famous Maiesty should happen to decease : We did conclude, that his daughter the Princessse, *the High borne, Christina*, should be chosen for our *Queene* and *Inherstrix* of our Kingdome. And therefore at this time doe wee againe establish unanimously, (and that in consideration of the famous and magnanimous acts and deeds, of the two worthy Kings; King *Gustavus the first*, and especially of King *Gustavus the last*, lately deceased: (whom iustly we may terme *Gustavus the Great*) by which two, and more especially by the *latter*, we have received admirable benefit and fame; and consequently, are bound to render all honour and respect, to this well-borne Princessse according to our former promise and obligation : and doe now renew, what we heretofore have maturely confirmed. That is to say; Wee doe declare, pronounce, and confirme, advicedly, unanimously, freely, and without constraint; The *high and mighty Princessse Christina*, Daughter of his renowned Maiestie *Gustavus Adolphus the Second and Great King*; *Queene of the Swedes, Gothes and Vandales*; lawfully chosen : as also *Heredi-*

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tary

Hereditary Princeſſe, Great Dutcheſſe of Finland, Dutcheſſe of Eſtland, and Carellen, our moſt deare and gracious Queene. And by theſe preſents wee doe oblige our ſelues and our affiliates, confederates and Princes and Peeres of our Kingdome, inhabitants and ſubiects of this Realme; to afford her gracious Maieſty, all true and due ſervice and obedience: and doe inaugurate her ſaid Maieſty, and eſtabliſh her, in whatſoever in righteouſneſſe may be answerable before God and Man. Inſomuch, that her Maieſty ſhall have full power and Authority, to command us in all particulars. And to this end, as true faithfull and loyall ſubiects, we doe confirme and ratifie the Lawes of the Realme, for her Maieſty. And moreover, we doe here promiſe and oblige our ſelues to ſtand for her Maieſties ſafety, good, and welfare, as well of the Kingdome; even upon the danger of our lives, and loſſe of our goods. Provided, that her Maieſty, when ſhe ſhall come to yeeres, and full poſſeſſion of the Government and rule of the Kingdome; ſhall make aſſurance to us, and the whole State, of whatſoever may concerne the maintaining of all our liberties, lawes, and priviledges, &c. as the like hath formerly beene done by our late Kings, (in the beſt forme that may be) eſpecially by her Maieſties Father: his Maieſty of bleſſed Memory, King *Gustavus* the 2^d. and hath by the State of the Kingdome beene approved.

2.

1st Article.

Secondly, we conclude, that in caſe any one, (high or low, of whatſoever place, dignity or quality, whether of the State of *Sweden*, or other parts ſubiect to the Crowne of *Sweden*.) doe reſuſe either with meanes, preſence, obedience, and all requiſite ſubiection, to ſubſcribe and ſubmit to this our reſolution and eſtabliſhment: and ſhall dare to oppoſe this Act of ours, or to bend his heart, eye, or hand, to any other whoſoever it may be, Inhabitant within our Dominions or forrainer: We doe hold, eſteeme, and declare the ſame party to bee a diſtracted and ſeparated member from our Body: and an enemy, yea Traitor of the Kingdome: and

and the same person who-ever it bee, being once convicted of a crime of this nature, shall bee punished without mercy.

3.

3^d. Article.

Thirdly, although it seeme not absolutely necessary, now to relate the former *Constitutions* and *Statutes*, made and concluded upon against King *Sigismundus* of *Polonia*, and his *Children*: which were grounded upon good reasons, and necessary proofes, yet notwithstanding, to remoove all obstacles and obiections from the simply honest meaning people, We doe confirme and establish, by these presents: That this may be lawfully done, which we doe now, notwithstanding whatsoever hath formerly beene concluded against King *Sigismund*, his *Children*, and *Descendants*. And therefore doe declare them to have no right or interest to the Crowne of *Sweden*, or to any part of the *Dominions* or *Iurisdictions*, there under comprehended: but all their right, and pretences, to be lost, void, forfeited, and in the lapse, from this time forth for ever. And if it should so fall out (which God forbid,) that any *Swedes*, or who-ever they may be; under the *Crowne* of *Sweden*, in high place and dignity: should unadvisedly goe about (either secretly or openly) to stand up in the behalfe of any of the *Children* of *Sigismundus* or his *Descendants*, to be received into the Kingdome of *Sweden*: or to yeeld them any footing within the *Iurisdictions*, or upon the Frontiers of the same Kingdome: We doe hold the same person (whosoever he be) for a pernicious and haynous Traitour, both to us and the whole State. And if any such, shall dare to stand out and persevere in so vile an insolency, he shall be sure to meete with the mercilesse punishment, due to such a Traitour. And moreover, whosoever he be, that shall give care, and leave to any such; and not in time make it manifest and knowne, with his intent that way, shall be subiect and lyable to the same punishment. In like sort shall all those be punished, that shall dare to harbour or lodge any such persons, without giving notice and intelligence

gence to authority. Now whereas at *Orebro* in the yeere 1617. the 27th. of February : an expresse and absolute *order* and *decree* was established, against all such, by the Peeres and whole State of the Realme : we will and ordaine by these presents, that the same *decree* henceforward remaine as inviolable, as if the same were herein expressed word by word. Wherefore, It is now by us *concluded* and *decreed*, that the same *decree* of *Orebro*, shall be fully executed ; and that to the same end, all Lords, and Iudges, Officers, &c. each according to his place and office, shall be bound to have an especiall care for the execution and performance of the same, as he will otherwise answer it, at his perill.

4th. Article.

4. Fourthly, With unanimous consent and deliberation, we here confirme, renew, conclude and establish what formerly at other times *Assemblies* and *Diets*, hath concerning the *Service of God and his Church* beene concluded and settled : and doe generally, all of us, oblige our selves to remaine in the same *forme, discipline, and truth of Religion*; according to the revealed truth of Gods holy and heavenly Word, and the *Articles of our Christian beleefe*, contained in the 3. *Creedes* : that is to say, the *Apostles Creede*, the *Nicene*, and of *Athanasius* : together with the true and invariable and unalterable *Confession of Aufsburg*. In a word, as it hath formerly beene solidely concluded, in the *Councell of Vpsal*.

5th. Article.

5. Fifthly : Whereas our *Queene* as yet is not come to her compleate yeeres, and full age; so that she might be sufficient of her owne selfe and ability, to defend and Govern the Kingdome and the Realme : we could wish (and happy were we, if it had beene so) that there had beene a full *decree and order* made by his Maiesty of blessed Memory, and the Princes and States of the Realme; so that in the same there had beene comprehended, whatsoever in this respect we ought to have cleaved unto. But since it is otherwise, and must needs be so : and that we doe understand, that

that his renowned Majesty of blessed memory, did commit his intent and resolution concerning this matter, to the Councell and Lords of this State; and had often commanded and desired them, to conceive a right order concerning the same: which they having performed, and therein declared their opinion, and shewed the same to his Majesty, with his full approbation: yet notwithstanding, by reason of his sudden death, and other occasions thereupon ensuing, hath it not had its full effect: although wee may well wish it had. Therefore in this case, we have read and manifested the said order (made by his Majesty in his time) to some of the chiefe amongst us, and of our State: who, as they have found the same most sound and wholefome; so could we wish that the same were published to the common view and eyes of all men: and might be confirmed and ratified unanimously by us all, and so be published. But whereas we doe also perceiue and understand, that diuers instructions and necessary appurtenances belonging thereunto, by reason of the shortnesse of time, could not conveniently be in readinesse: we, notwithstanding, being desirous to further the welfare and State of the Realme, in all good manner of proceeding; and likewise, that his Maiesty, our most gracious and renowned King (of blessed memory) his will and care (for which we are for ever bound to extoll his Majesties name and memory) may really be performed and executed: we doe especially, all of us, in the name of the whole State and Realme, *desire and ordaine* that the same *decree and ordinance* of his Majesty; shall be put in execution and performed, in the best manner and forme that may be possibly, for the good and welfare of our Realme and Countries, by the 5. chiefe States and Officers of the Realme: to wit. 1. The Lord high Steward, 2. Marshall, 3. Admirall, 4. Chancellor, 5. Treasurer. And in the absence of the one or other, or of any: the Eldest of the Councell of State shall supply the place. And these 5. shall be in lieu and place of Government of her Maiesty, for the Kingdome of Sweden, untill her Majesty be growne (by Gods grace) to perfect yeers.

And this businesse have we sufficiently pondered. For where-
 as the said five States and Lords, have ever beene of Councell
 with his Majesty of blessed memory : and have undergone
 and waded thorow, the most weightiest affaires of the
 whole Kingdome : wee have thought good unanimously
 with one generall consent, to ordaine and establish, as well
 for our Associates and Brethren, as for our selues ; that
 from henceforward, the five aforesaid Grand and Chiefe
Officers of the State and Realme, and in either the one or
 the other his absence, the *Eldest of our Councell of Stock-*
holm, being of the same Colledge and Assembly supplying
 the place, for the welfare and managing of the State of our
 Kingdome, and the Tuition of our *Queene*, shall governe
 and beare rule, during the *Minority and Nonage* of her Ma-
 jesty : onely in her name and stead, and without any preiudice
 to the *Realme or State*, or violation or breach of the
Lawes, Rites, and Priviledges of the same: but rather power-
 fully for her Maiesty maintaining the *five brotherly Offices and*
State-Rankes. To wit. *Courti-right Councell: Councell of War,*
Admiralty, Chancery, and Treasury or Exchequer : as the
 same have beene by former Kings instituted establi-
 shed and upheld, especially by our last King of blessed me-
 mory *Gustavus* the 2^d. Also, all dexterity shall be used and
 employed by them, for the maintaining and upholding of
 the *Swedish Rights, Lawes, Justice, and Policy*, as farre as their
 vttermost industry and power shall be able to extend : de-
 fending, protecting, all manner of wayes, the Realme
 and Kingdome, and whatsoever depends upon it : In such
 wise, as they in their Conscience shall be willing to answer
 before God, the *Queene*, and the *State*, when they shall
 be thereunto called : And as these doe at this present oblige
 themselves to those that are, and hereafter shall be called,
 into Authority : and as they doe now oblige themselves by
 oath. On the other side, We the Peeres and Lords of the
 Realme, doe promise to yeeld unto these *five selected Chiefe*
Officers : and to the *Eldest of the Councell* that shall supply ei-
 ther

ther of their roomes ; not onely all worthy respect and honour, but also all obedience and submissive subiection : in whatsoever they shall require and command us, tending to the glory of Almighty God, the good and welfare of the Queene, and of the State and Common-wealth. And in case any one should goe about to oppose and to crosse this manner of proceeding, or government, either in deed or word : We shall by all our powers labour to suppress such insolencies, and to punish such parties, and to constrain them to true obedience.

6.

6th. Article.

Sixthly, Whereas our Kingdome and countrey is as yet in an open Warre and Hostility, against the Roman Emperour, and the *Popish League in Germany* : We professe our selves desirous and resolved to maintaine it (as the same hath not onely beene undertaken, furthered, and happily maintained ; but sealed also, with the very blood of our most renowned and blessed King) even with our uttermost power and endeavours, untill it shall please Almighty God (in his due time) to establish and settle a happy and desired peace for the good of his Church. Whereas also it is most necessary, that wee Arme, strengthen and provide our selves, against other accrewing and newly growing enemies; and to have a speciall care, to prevent all dangers and oppositions which may ensue : we have therefore *ordered and ordained*, and doe now *will and ordaine*, That the same *Edict and Proclamation*, which the last Harvest time was concluded and confirmed : shall with all speed and expedition bee published throughout the whole Realme and Kingdome: directly according to the same forme, as we first ordered : with condition, that all mens rights and priviledges shall thereby be kept inviolable. And by these presents we doe promise, and doe freely consent and grant : with and upon mature deliberation, that in case the neede and necessity of the Kingdome shall so require ; whether it be by reason of the enemy that we are already fallen into, or in respect of some

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new enemies, which haply may make opposition and enmity against our most gracious young *Queene*, and the State of this Kingdome; in one manner or other; then we with life and goods are ready and willing, to maintaine our right and liberties: and to stand with all our might and ability, in opposition against all such, as shall dare to confront and withstand our proceedings.

7th. Article.

7.
Seventhly, We know well enough, that no Kingdome can possibly subsist without meanes: neither can any Warre be rightly managed, without great charges. And therefore, we have likewise thought fit and good, that the *Lille* and *Quarrie Toll* or *Custom*, shall be continued for the good and profit of the Kingdome, according to the order and manner as the same is now raised and received. As also, that the *Messenger-ships* granted the last yeere, shall for this time goe forward and take place.

Moreover, if so be that the Warre in *Germany* should yet longer continue; or if it should happen, that our Kingdome and Countrey should fasten upon some other Warre and trouble; We doe likewise promise and oblige our selues; That when thereupon we shall be required, by the Peeres States and Lords of the Realme: Wee will with all our meanes, power and abilities, stand and fight for our Religion, *Queene*, Kingdomes, and Liberties, whensoever necessity shall thereunto invite us. For wee have ever hitherto esteemed, the welfare of our Kingdome and State, to be our chiefest happinesse: and therefore have courageously adventured both our goods and lives upon it. To this wee oblige our selues, by these Presents.

That We in all these particulars above written, are resolved: and have unanimously, generally and particularly; in our owne, and in the behalfe of our brethren, present and absent: as well unborne, as borne; freely and willingly

ly consented, agreed, approved and concluded; and there-
in sufficiently accorded: and doe promise, as faithfull reli-
gious and true sincere meaning Subjects, to performe the
same: Wee the *Councell, State, &c.* of *Sweden*, haue
Vnderwritten and Sealed.

Actum. At *Stockholm* the 14. of
March. 1633.

d d

The



The Diet of Heilbrun.



And that the *Reader* (for a Farewell) may perceiue the present constitution of the affaires in the Empire; and in what good correspondency the *Protestant* Princes are at this present one with another; and how well disposed to the continuance of the warres, for so good a *Cause*: I will

conclude my Booke, with that *new League*, of these 4. *Principall Circles* of the Empire, that is to say, The *Franconian, Suevian, the Upper and Lower Circles of the Rhine*; made in the Diet of Heilbrun in the Dukedome of *Wurtemberg*, 18. *English miles* from *Heidleberg*; in the moneths of *March* and *April* last past: that so my *Story* may end, as it begun; with a *Diet*. There were personally present at this *meeting*; the Duke of *Wurtemberg* and the *Administrator*, the Marquesse of *Baden*, the Count of *Hanaw*, with the most of the 17. *Earles of Wetteraw*. For the Prince Elector *Palatine*, and the *Administrator Lodowick Philip*, (Brother to the King of *Bohemia*) were there 4. Commissioners: whereof Colonell *Felblitz* being the chiefe; he sate above all the Princes, at the upper end of the Table; all the *Propositions* were directed towards him, and he had the opening of all letters, in place of the *Electer Palatine*. There were present besides, the Ambassadors

What Princes
were present.

sadors of other Princes, and the Deputies of the Imperiall Cities in these 4. Circles. The Lord Chancellor *Oxenstiern*, (by whose procurement this Diet had beene convoked) had his lodging in the towne, and came not at all into the *Stare-house*, among the Princes: but sent them in this discourse, and these Propositions following: which were the grounds and materials, for the Diet to worke upon. His stile in the present Diet, was, Councillor, Chancellor and Extraordinary Ambassador, for the most Illustrious and High-borne, the Hereditary Heir and Princessse of the Crowne of Sweden. And with this Declaration, he began his Propositions.

Illustrious and Right Honourable Princes and States *Evangelicall* here assembled.

I will not too much trespass upon your patience, with an over-tedious recitall of the Causes, upon which the High and mighty Prince of ever glorious memorie, *Gustavus Adolphus* King of Sweden, &c. was enforced to take Armes; and openly to make opposition against the *Roman Emperour Ferdinand the Second* of that name, and his confederates the *Catholike Leaguers*; more and more, at that time, every day prevailing in their oppressions of the *Evangelicall* Electors, Princes and States; and of their Honours, privileges, and immunities, all the *Romane Empire* over, yea, and most injuriously, beginning to encroach upon the next neighbour Princes, and their Provinces: forasmuch as these things be notorious unto the world, and that the Justice of the Kings Armes, be by no man doubted of. And yet some brieft recapitulation, doe I thinke convenient to make of them.

Most apparent it is, that his said sacred Majesty (now at rest in the Lord) was without any formall denunciation of warre, infested by the Emperour. His Ambassadors, coming with the offer and meanes of a peaceable compounding of depending Controversies, most disgracefully entreated: yea, and (contrary to all lawes of nations and civility) not without scornfull affronts offered, turned home againe; and the

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whole

whole Treaty by that vsage, abruptly broken off with him. That his subjects of *Sweden*, even contrary to long vsage, amity, and Covenants, heretofore, in generall, contracted with the *Romane Empire*; and in particular, with certaine neighbour Princes and *Free-States*, have beene disturbed in their Commerces, *Embargo's* laid upon their Ships, and fetters upon their saylers.

That the *Catholike Leaguers*, likewise, notwithstanding that among other *Electors* of the Empire they had beene requested, that they would be pleased to forbear the making themselves parties in these differences, but rather to seeke how to find redresse for them: and notwithstanding, that at the request of the *French King*, confederated with his sacred Maiesty, there had beene *Neutrality* granted unto the said *Leaguers*, if so be they thought good to accept of it: yet did they not onely refuse that *Neutrality*, but entred also into a stricter confederation of warres against his said Maiesty, and conjoyning their forces under their Generall *Tilly*, with those of his Imperiall Maiesty: they forbore not to doe their uttermost against the said King, whom out of pure necessity they by this meanes enforced, in hostile manner to oppose himselfe against all of them.

And notwithstanding that these and the like motives, (which for brevities sake be here omitted) doe sufficiently iustifie his said Maiesties Armes-taking, being he was enforced to them: yet this is the thing above all the rest to be considered; the devises, namely, and vast projects of the *House of Austria*: not onely famous in discourse all the world over, but so farre actually advanced already, and so neere to execution, that the very Principall Ports of the Dukedomes of *Mecklenburg* and of *Pomerland*, were really already seased upon, and the Imperialists wholly, by this time, busied in rigging out such a fleet, as might be able not onely to disturbe the Commerce betwixt the neighbour Kingdomes; but also at pleasure to divert it to other places. By this meanes should the *Spanish* yoke be first

first put upon the shoulders of the Northerne people; and from thence, (as the fittest place for such a purpose) might it bee slung upon the necks of all other Kingdomes and Common-wealths in *Europe*. And just in the selfe same manner, and upon no other reason; was that most ancient *Family* of *Mecklenburg*, without hearing of their cause, or any legall formalities of Proceeding: actually and *de facto* despoyled of their iust Principalities and Royalties. The Dukedome of *Pomerland*, likewise, without any colour of right at all, contrary to all equity and deservings, was actually seized upon: yea, contrary to all covenants and sincere promises of the Emperour, more then barbarously entreated.

The most iust King, therefore, seeing by the excellent acutenesse of that Iudgement which God from on high had endowed him withall, he was easily able to forsee, what all this was likely in the end to tend unto: resolved to connive no longer, at so prevailing and daily more apparent a mischief: but judg'd it to belong to him, and to his neighbour King (against whom also, these and the like projects were a hammering) in time to prevent this encroaching danger. Vnto this was his Majesty the more provoked, by the serious consideration of the *Romane Empire*, and the most lamentable condition which within these few yeeres last past, it had beene brought unto: wherein he observed, that those Princes that were neereest to him in the bond of Blood or Religion, were partly diseised of their Countries and their dignities, and either thrust into banishment abroad, or tyrannised upon at home, sometimes by their equalls; and which worse is, even by their inferiours otherwhile domineer'd upon: and with skornes and contumelies abused. His Majesty perceived withall, how these Princes with their neighbours, were by a continuall feare kept under; their rights, without all respect, wrung from them: the *fundamentall constitutions*

of the *Empire*, overturned, and that the other party might at pleasure doe what they lusted: were the Princes overcharged with the Imperiall Armies. And to cast the fairer glosse of Iustice, upon all this; was that most extremely prejudiciall unto the *Evangelicall Elefctors*, States, and Princes, the late *Imperiall Decree* pretended, for the restitution of the Church goods, (forsooth) and the execution of it.

By these devices, was there nothing of the ancient Empire, Customes and Constitutions, left unviolated: the peace, both of Church and Common-wealth, was disturbed; the *Sanctions* and *Constitutions* of the Empire, prophaned; the orders for convoking and holding of *Diets*, abused, broken, and subverted; the Articles and practice of Commerce with neighbour States, innovated and distracted: yea all places throw the whole wide Empire, filled with complainings, teares and sighings. All these miseries, did so cordially affect that blessed King and most valiant Champion: (who being a *Christian*, *Evangelicall* neighbour Prince, had also his share in these sufferings, and was by the pride and insolency of the adversaries, withall enforced to take Armes) that he supposed it well became him, not to bee forgetfull of the Princes of his owne blood and Religion: and that hee ought, withall, to give way unto that evident *Divine calling*, which pressed him to endcavour the delivery of Gods people.

And what event hath followed upon this his resolution, from the first undertaking unto this very day: is sufficiently every where made manifest. Namely, that his Maiesty cleared, first of all, the Coasts and Port townes of *Pomerland* and of *Mecklenburg*, of the enemy: restored the Dukes of *Mecklenburg* againe into their Countries, freed the Electorate of *Brandenburg*, chased away the enemy, from the banks of the river *Elb*; and how after the *Victory of Leipfich*, he led on his owne Armies, against the *Catholike Bishopsricks* and *Electors*; and how those *Leaguers*, whose businesse chiefly

chiefly was, which way, handsomelyest, to divide the lands of the *Evangelicall Electors*, Princes and States, and to live upon their bloods: He made to play least in fight, and to shift themselves away out of their owne houses, which they, erewhiles, supposed had beene so surely founded.

By which victorious proceedings of his Maiesty, the whole course of the businesse was so turned about againe; that the Electors, Princes, and States *Evangelicall* in the Empire: who must suffer, before, and say nothing, tooke courage, now, to put their heads into the world againe; and to looke after the recovery of their ancient liberties and Dominions: yea, and to grow so bold upon it, as to goe thorow with the *Diet of Leipsich*, and to resolve upon such Conclusions there, as apparently made show of their purpose to conserve and defend the declining liberties, both of their Country and their Consciences: yea and boldly to make demonstration unto the Emperour, of their being sensible of the vniustnesse of his Proceedings. And notwithstanding that before the *Decrees* of that *Diet* could be brought to perfection, they were by the over-powring inundation of the Imperiall and *Leaguer* Armies, washt away into nothing, and their assumed weapons, beaten out of their hands againe: yet did the selfe same Princes after the *Leipsich Victory*, so well recollect their dejected courages, and the greater part of them by single and private confederacies, so inter-league themselves with the Majesty and Crowne of *Sweden*, that either by re-assuming the performance of the *Decrees* of that *Diet*, or by some other reall and actuall engagement: they did wholly commit themselves, unto his Maiesties sole direction and protection.

And thus, from that time untill this, with the said King, have they taken up Armes, together, with, and for, the Crowne of *Sweden*, against the Emperour and the *Leaguers*. Which Armes, hitherto, (the *Lord of Hosts* them graciously assisting) have they honourably maintained: and though with much perill, yet not without much happinesse.

His

His Maieſty, of ever honoured memory, had of long time, verily, deſired nothing more; then how he might conſolidate the *Evangelicall* Electors, Princes, and States, by a common league, into one and the ſame Body of Confederacy. But for that the power of the enemy, ſtill with ſuch fierceneſſe preſſed in upon him; he could never finde himſelfe at ſo much good leiſure, as the bringing about of ſo difficult a buſineſſe would require of him. For which reaſon, He iudg'd it moſt conducing to the common intereſt, to enter into ſome particular, and as it were preparatory Confederacies in the meane time: that the Cauſe, notwithstanding, might effectually goe on, untill ſome fairer opportunitie of occaſion might at length bee preſented unto his Maieſtie: as well to provide for his owne and their ſaſties; as alſo to make up one common tyne and obligation betweene them. Vntill the happineſſe of which opportunity, he thought to uphold and continue on the buſineſſe, by the love of their common ſaſeties; and by the counſels and aſſiſtance of the Crowne of *Sweden*: which, for the time being, might countervaille a more formall Confederacie.

But for as much, as by reaſon of the continuall Expeditions and Marchings from place to place, that he was ſtill put unto, he could never have ſo much good leiſure, as to begin thoſe faire Courſes, nor to ſettle a better order for the obſerving of *Military Diſcipline*: it is thereby come to paſſe, that not onely whole Provinces (as in ſuch deadly warres it ever falleth out, and eſpecially where the Field of Warre is ſo univerſall) have bene waſted and much ſpoyled, but the licentiousneſſe of the ſouldiery growne to that head, as that without a ſpeedy remedy, the whole action muſt of neceſſity come to nothing. Verily, his Maieſty of ever glorious memory, had thought of nothing more ſeriously: and out of the fatherlyneſſe of his care to the common Cauſe, had endeavourd nothing more diligently, then to have made his perſonall reſidence amongſt the Princes, in theſe *Upper Parts* of the Empire: and with his owne neighbourhood,

bourhood, not onely the more to have assured the Protection of those *Vpper Circles*, (according as he had begun already) but how also he might have beene personally present in a *Diet* of these foure *Circles*, for the concluding of some settled good orders, how the something decayed *Military Discipline*, might have beene repaired.

And notwithstanding that my selfe for mine owne part, was so stonyed with the dolefull and most lamentable death of my said deare Lord and Master, as that I seemed to have cause enough to give over any more dealing in these busineses, and to leave the managing unto their handlings, whom so deeply it concerned: yet upon maturer consideration, how easily in the midst of these fiercenesses of the enemy, there might betide some notable confusion, either amongst the Armies, or the Princes: and that the whole Cause might of its owne weightinesse, fall to so low a Condition as were not easie afterwards to bee repaired: and that by this meanes, all the Counsels, proceedings, designs and victories of my said sacred Lord the King; would come to no other end nor purpose, but to the giving occasion to the finall and totall ruine of all his Confederates and Part-takers: I had rather lay aside mine owne private respects to my selfe, then so abruptly to desert the employment.

For this onely reason, therefore, have I so earnestly hitherto endeavoured, to uphold the businesse, and courageously (according to my power) so to dispose of all opportunities, as might suite to the best advantage of the publike. Yea, and not onely so, but I have beene an earnest suiter withall unto the *Crowne of Sweden*; that the State would be pleased still to continue on the warre, that that most commendable and praise worthy intention of His Sacred MAJESTIE: might obtaine the desired and intended issue. In this my suite I have so farre prevailed, that I have already from thence received a full *Commission*,

This clause alone, does clearly enough confute that scandall upon the dead King: How that vnder a publike pretension, hee sought meerly his owne private interest: which was the Empire. This

if so, why should the *Swedish* kingdome now continue on the warres? Seeing their King is dead, and their young Queene, not capable of being Emperour.

to treat and conclude with the Electors, States, and Princes of the Empire, upon that matter: and if I find the Confederates and Partakers so inclined, I have power from the Royall Heyer and Crowne of *Sweden*, in their names to continue on the worke to a perfection.

For mine owne part, therefore, I would see nothing with more gladnesse, then a *Generall Diet* of all the *Evangelicall* Electors Princes and States, of the whole sacred *Romane Empire*, together. But forasmuch as Sumner is now nere at hand, and that the enemy is notably by this time, upon the growing hand; and earnest in his preparations for some new expedition: and for that these 4. *Upper Circles* are not onely round encompassed by the common enemies; but have them already within their very bowels: therefore, there being danger in delays, and for that a *Generall Diet* could not be convoked without much time spending, and its peculiar solemnities, (by which meane the whole businesse would be in danger in the meane time to be rather ruined then remedied; so long it would be before a publike and ioynt determination could be agreed upon:) therefore have I thought it more necessary, (which also was solicited and desired by divers States both of this *Vpper Part* of the Empire, and the *Vpper Saxony*) that upon the death of my said Sovereigne Lord the King, to deferre the procuring of a *Generall Diet*, and so to hasten on the *Diet* of *Ulm*, as out of hand to bring it to conclusion. This my purpose so soone as it was made knowne unto divers of the most Illustrious and right honourable Princes and States; there was occasion given and meane projected for another new meeting, for the causes before rehearsed.

And here I render all due and humble thanks, both to the Princes and States personally here assembled, and to the Ambassadors of the absent, severally and altogether: for that upon the earnest invitation of my good intention, they disdained not to give this meeting. And now most earnestly doe I beseech

beseech you all, that you would take to heart and with maturity consider upon the common estate of the *Cause Evangelicall*: and with your prudentest and providentest consultations, and readiest of your assistance, promote and set forward the common businesse of the Empire, the safety of your native Countrey, and your owne proper welfares. And most heartily doe I desire of God, that you may have profitable designs, happy expeditions, and all prosperous and desired successes. And for mine owne part, thus much I make free tender of, that I will at no time in any thing be wanting, in what I shall either judge to bee beneficiall to the Cause; or wherein I may any way bee serviceable. And this I promise both for my selfe, and in the name of the Hereditary Princeesse, and Crowne of Sweden.

To the end, therefore, that the points necessary, may the better and more orderly be deliberated upon; and the Conclusion the better speeded: I have thought it necessary, that the chiefe heades of the *Deliberation*, which are in these *Convocatory letters* comprehended and exhibited; should bee distinguished into *Articles*: most obsequiously, and in the humblest manner entreating of your Highnesses, that you would bee pleased to make construction of them to the fairest sence; and so to accommodate and hasten forward your owne resolutions, as may be most advantageous for the present state of the businesse, and the imminenttneffe of the danger.

I.

That all the *Evangelicall Electors*, Princes, and States of these 4. *Upper Circles* now assembled, would conclude an Union in the best forme; and confederate and colleague themselves together, with such firme conditions, as never to breake off againe, untill the desired scope: that is to say, the restitution of the *Evangelicall Electors*, Princes, and States, and the fundamentall lawes of the Empire, be obtained, and due satisfaction made, to the Hereditary Princeesse and Crowne of Sweden.

The Chancellors Propositions.

The Diet of Heilbrun.

den. Much lesse descend into any particular treaties with the enemy ; but one be made to stand for all, and all as one man ; untill the full and finall decision and determination of the whole businesse be agreed upon. And in case some one or other of them, should have a mind to fall off from the common League ; that consideration be had , and a decree before hand made , how such a man ought to be thought of, and in what manner handled.

2.

It is also to be considered upon , now that the Emperour after his agreement made and sworne, having done nor intended nothing, but the oppression of the Empire and the loyal States in it : and the *Catholike Leaguers*, also, having added to the oppression as much as lay in their power; that is to say, helpt it forward , provoked one another to it, and backt one another in it ; and hath wrung or beaten the *defensive Armes* of the Electors, Princes and States *Evangelicall*, out of their hands : whether it were not the best course openly to declare both Emperour and *Leaguers*, enemies, and so long to hold them for such , untill satisfaction bee made unto the Crowne of *Sweden*, and unto the *Electors*, Princes and States offended.

3.

It ought also thorowly to be considered and agreed upon, how many Armies be to be sent against the enemy; and how they are from time to time to be re-enforced: and where money is to be raised for it.

4.

What is the best meanes for getting of monies, Ammunition, Ordnance, and Victualls; and what payes are to be made unto the Generalls: as also for the horses to draw the Ordnance, and the Baggage-Wagons ; and how all this money is to be raised.

5.

That the course of the whole Proceedings may the more orderly be carried, it will be necessary that some *Office of Dis-
-cession*

reſiſion be legally ſet up and authoriſed : and that in other cauſes in like manner , ſome legall determination be now agreed upon.

6.

And conſequently , after this *Office of Direction* be reſolved upon and authoriſed ; it will be very worthy conſideration in the next place, how the *military Diſcipline* may hereafter be better ordered , the Countries freed from the feares and inſolencies of the ſouldiery , and Trading reſtored : and though not every thing , yet how the groſſer abuſes may be remedied.

7.

And if it pleaſes the Kingdome of *Sweden* , any longer to engage it ſelfe in theſe actions ; it ſhall bee worthy conſideration , how long it is fitting for it to ſtand engaged : and what aſſiſtance ſhall the ſaid Kingdome of *Sweden* expect againe , if in the meane time it ſelfe ſhall happen to bee invaded , or come into other danger.

All theſe Articles , and whatſoever may elſe be thought upon in the time of the deliberation ; I doubt not, but the moſt Illuſtrious and Right Honourable States aſſembled ; will maturely conſider upon : and will ſo frame their reſolutions , as neceſſity and their owne ſafety requireth. And thus farre forth , am I confident of all and every one of them. To whom againe in generall and particular, I make all humble tender of ſuch faire offices, in which I may beſt ſerve them.

Heilbrunn March 8. 1633.

Theſe Propoſitions were tendred to the Princes, &c. the very firſt day of the meeting : that is to ſay, after the *Sermon*, and ſo ſoone as they had taken their places in the *State-houſe*. To theſe , after mature deliberation, the Princes punctually thus answered, Article to Article.

1. That :

1.

That they were all desirous to contract a most firme League amongst themselves, and with the Crowne of *Sweden*: and so long time constantly to hold it on, untill the desired liberty of *Germany*, as farre as concerned either *Religion*, or the *Temporall Estate*; were obtained: and that the Crowne of *Sweden* were satisfied their charges of the Warres.

2.

They thought it better for the time, to forbear declaring the Emperour and *Leaguers*, enemies; untill a generall Diet of the whole Empire: and in the meane time to set out a publike *Manifesto* and *Apology*, concerning their being provoked to this *Defensive*.

3.

In the Third Article, they desired to consult with his Excellency, (meaning the Chancellor *Oxenstiern*.)

4.

And if this Third were once agreed upon, they would deliberate concerning the meanes of maintaining the Armies.

5.

They requested his Excellency that hee would be pleased to take upon himselfe the *Directorship*, for these foure *Vpper Circles*; untill the desired restitution were obtained. And least this charge should be too heavy for him singly; they thought to joyn some other *Assistants* with him: and if he pleased, they would in every one of these foure *Circles*, appoint an Office of *Sub-Directorship*.

6.

For restoring of the decayed *Discipline*, there should be new and certaine Orders conceived and authorized; the transgressours whereof, should exemplarily be punished. The Regiments moreover should be *reduced* and *reformed*; the superfluous numbers of Officers restrained, and the government and punishing of offending souldiers, left unto the Magistrate of the place where they were enquartered. Permissi- on should also, with the Magistrates knowledge, be unto the Subjects

Subjects and inhabitants of every place, to defend themselves, as they could, against plunderers. As for the billeting of the souldiers, it should be committed unto the Magistrate.

7.

And whereas the States of Sweden had pleased to declare their willingnesse for the entering into a stricter Union with them; they accepted of the offer with all due thankfulnesse. And for their parts, they were ready mutually to oblige themselves to procure them all due satisfaction, if his Excellency would be pleased to shew them how to doe it.

Faire Answeres, all of them. After this, had the French Ambassador his Audience: whose Oration was, To encourage the Princes to go on where the victorious King had left: He in his Masters name promising them all due assistance; and desiring to be taken into their Union. The English Ambassador, likewise, Sir Robert Anstuther, made his Proposition; which was a desire, chiefly, for the Restoration of the Palatinate. Concerning all which demands, to this purpose was the faire and satisfying Resolution of the Diet, which brake up about the twentieth of our Aprill.

1.

That that foure Circles shall be firme one to another in a League offensive and defensive: untill such time as they can have vindicated their Liberties against the Emperour, whom they esteeme as a reall enemy.

The Resolution of the Diet. These Articles, some Copies contract into ten.

2.

That to maintaine these warres, 16000. Horse and 40000. Foot, are to be leuyed.

3.

That the monies to be contributed, shall be raised according to the Taxe of the Imperiall Matricula, in the warres against the Turke: and the summe needfull, is to be 12. times as much, as one Contribution then was.

4.

That the Magazines are to bee appointed at Ainsburg, Ulm,

Ulm, Norimberg and Franckfort.

5.

The *Direction* of the whole Warre, shall be carryed by his Excellency the Lord Chancellor of Sweden *Axel Oxenstiern* : who shall manage both it and the Affaires of State , in the name of the Imperiall States and the Crowne of Sweden.

6.

To him shall certaine *Commissioners* be adjoynd, as *Assistants*, one or more from every *Circle* : and some likewise from the Imperiall Townes of this Confederation.

7.

That in every *Circle* there be a *Sub-Directorian Office*, to see to things belonging to the collecting and disbursing of the monies ; the disposing of the Ammunition and the Victuals, and the well ordering of the *Magazines* , in their owne Precincts.

8.

That the Magistrates of every place , shall have full Iurisdiction in their owne hands ; and dispose of the leuying and mustering places : as also of the Enquarterings and *Rendezvous*, as they shall thinke fitting.

9.

That the *Military Discipline* shall be reformed; the weake Regiments broken, to compleate others : the superfluous Officers cashiered, Recruits made, strict order kept, and constant full Payes allowed.

10.

To this end, the first Contribution is to be raised in May next ; and for the procuring of sufficient Summes , till the exhausted lands be somewhat restored : the neighbour States are to be fought for to lend monies. As for the *Neutralists* and such other members of the foure *Circles* as are absent, they are to be put under *Contribution*.

11.

The *Palatinate* is to be surrendred to the *Administrator*; and all State-holders, Governours and Commanders in the King of

of *Sweden's* name, are to be put downe: onely *Manheim* shall still keepe a *Swedish* garrison in it, that they may have assistance to passe without let at all times, over the *Rhine* and *Neckar*.

12.

No *Free Quarters* are in any place to be allowed: but the souldiers must liue upon their payes.

13.

That these foure *Circles* shall labour with the rest of the *Evangelicall States* (of all which, a generall meeting is much wished for) to give sufficient satisfaction to the Crowne of *Sweden*.

14.

That the King of *France* shall be a confederate on the same conditions, as heretofore in the time of the King of *Sweden*. Other Princes may also come into the League.

15.

That the lands belonging to the Empire, shall by no meanes be alienated from it, by any contract with a forraine Prince.

16.

That if any of the Confederate States or Townes in these foure *Upper Circles*, fall off from this League, without hostile constraint; they shall be first admonished: and if they then returne not, to be held and dealt withall as an enemy.

The Lord Chancellor was offered to be Generall of all the Forces: which he modestly the first time refused: but being the second time put to him, he accepted it. And thus you see the *Palatinate* in tearmes to be restored, *Heidleberg* Towne and Castle are since rendred: the warres goe well hitherto. And this is some comfort, for the death of the King of *Sweden*.

FINIS.

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A

A Table drawne by way of a *Journal*
or *Diary*, to shew where the King and *Walenstein*
still were: and what they and their Armies did,
upon those dayes, that are mentioned
in the Margent.

This belongs to the *Third Part*.

<i>The King.</i>	<i>Walenstein: and Bavaria.</i>
July.	July.
5 } <i>About Norimberg: and</i>	5 } <i>Sends abroad to take up</i>
6 } <i>hath some smaller skir-</i>	6 } <i>the Posts and Townes</i>
7 } <i>mishes with the Impe-</i>	7 } <i>of the Country.</i>
8 } <i>rialists.</i>	&c }
&c }	
11 <i>Oxenstiern sets out, to-</i>	
<i>wards the King.</i>	
20 <i>King sends out Wippen-</i>	20 <i>Sends Holck towards Mis-</i>
<i>horst to beate a Convoy.</i>	<i>nia.</i>
22 } <i>Oxenstierns and Hessens</i>	
23 } <i>Army, in Franconia.</i>	
&c }	
27 <i>King learns out Walen-</i>	
<i>steins Magazine.</i>	
30 <i>Dubatell takes Freyen-</i>	30 <i>Bavaria writes to Pappen-</i>
<i>stat: and the King de-</i>	<i>heim.</i>
<i>feats Sparre.</i>	
August.	August.
1. <i>The Kings Oration.</i>	<i>Some skirmishes betweene com-</i>
4 } <i>Parties sent abroad into</i>	<i>manded Partees, in the be-</i>
5 } <i>the Countrey.</i>	<i>ginning of this moneth.</i>
8 <i>Paves his Army.</i>	
<i>Oxenstiern and Duke</i>	
10 } <i>William Weymars</i>	
11 } <i>Army, moove one to-</i>	<i>Partees abroad.</i>
<i>wards another.</i>	

The

The King.

August.

13 } Duke Bernard and Banier iojne
with Oxenstiem and Duke
14 } William.

17 The Armies come to Bruck.

18 The King comes to view them.

21 They iojne with his Army and
Walensteins Trenches attempt-
ed.

22 The fight continues.

24 The great fight for the old Castle.

26 The King formes a new Campe,
hard by Walensteins.

29 } Partees sent abroad.

30 }

September.

Severall small Actions.

42 Consultations with the Norim-
55 bergers about disamping.

7 Kept Holyday.

8 The King dislodges.

9 Sits downe at Neustat.

13 Removes the army to Winshaim.

14 Divides his Army.

15 Goes towards Norimberg: but
returns to goe for Bavaria.

21 At Dunkenspiel.

22 At Nordlingen.

25 Mitzvall yeelds up Rain.

27 The King defeats 400. Crabats
about the Lech in Bavaria.

October.

17 } Passes the Lech.

25 }

3 Recovers Rain.

Walenstein and Bavaria.

August.

13 Holck takes Zwicka.

16 }

17 } Holck spoyles Misnia.

&c }

21 Walensteins trenches attempted.

24 The great fight.

Partees abroad.

September.

All done by commanded Partees.

12 Walenstein dislodgeth.

13 Gallas besieges Lauff.

14 Walenstein comes to Forcheim.

21 Summons Culmbach.

24 Goes to Bamberg. Gallas spoyles
Voitland.

25 Bavaria parts with him.

29 Walenstein takes Bayreit.

October.

1. Takes Coburg; and Gallas Chem-
nitz.

3 Beaten from Coburg Castle.

5 Holck and Gallas iojne in Misnia.

The King.

October.

5 *At Neuburg upon the Danuby.*

6 } *Prepares to besiege some townes in*
7 } *Bavaria.*

8 *Retires to Nordlingen.*

12 *Kniphaußen takes Lauff.*

13 } *King pursues, and defeats Mu-*
14 } *nich.*

15 *King returns to Norimberg.*

17 *--goes towards his Army.*

21 *Recovers up to his Army.*

22 *Cashiers the English & Scottish.*

23 *Comes to Arnstat.*

28 *Musters at Erfurt.*

November.

1 *Comes to Naumburg.*

2 *His religious speech to the people.*

3 *Entrenches.*

4 *Hath Coloredoes Letter brought him.*

5 *Falls amongst Walensteins Quar-*
ters.

6 *The victory of Lutzen.*

7 *The Kings body embaulmed.*

Walenstein. and Bavaria.

October.

4 *Holck and Gallas take Friberg.*

5 *Walenstein goes towards Voit-*
land.

8 } *Takes townes in Voitland.*
9 }

10 *Comes to Plaun.*

11 *Formes a Camp at Weida.*

12 *Holck and Gallas take Wurtzen.*

13 *Walestein mooves towards*

14 } *Leipsich.*

17 *Sends some Horse to brave it.*

18 *Summons it.*

19 *Takes Weissenfels.*

20 } *Besieges Leipsich.*
21 }

22 *Takes Leipsich town.*

23 *Takes the Castle.*

25 } *Takes other townes in Misnia.*
26 } *&c*

28 *Pappenheim ioyes with him.*

November.

1 *Sends backe some Horse to Leip-*
sich: and remooves his Army
to Weissenfels.

4 *Sends Pappenheim to Hall: and*
mooves to Lutzen.

5 *Prepares for the Battell.*

6 *Overthrowne, and: retires to*
Leipsich.

7 } *His Army flies in disorder to-*
8 } *wards Bohemia.*
&c }

The

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FINIS.



An Elegie on the King of

S V V E D E N.

WHat sad newes doth the curious strive to heare?
So sad; he cannot safely live, and feare?
I see in every eye a terror strooke,
A griefe too great for credit; since we looke,
On Kings, as if they were not clay and dust,
Vaine hopes; in whom alone, men vainely trust.
Say if at once, the great *Gustavus* dy'd
In fight; such as would adde to *Cæsar* pride.
A death Triumphant, at whose spreading fall
The Empire groan'd, as if it t' expired withall.
See how the cunning foes securely barke,
Venting their malice from truth hating darke,
Reade their State-faces, for their hearts none can,
But he who measures Heaven with a span.
Observe their ioy, for such a barbarous thing,
As ioy for losse, of a most manly King.
What did you feare day-Owles? he would un-Crowne
Your Triple-head, or breake your Idols downe?
He sure had done it, but that God did see,
It was not much to doe, by such as he:
He saw we onely lookt upon his sword,
And forgate him, who conqueres, by a word;
Since then, so much on miracles you stand,
God can raise up some weak and feebler hand,
Flies, Vermin, Frogs; such as did *Pharaoh* fright,
A Lance of Bulrush, and a Lambe to fight.
God sure will doe it, and his blood exact,
At their foule soules, that ioy in such a fact.
It is a souldiers trade, and pride to kill,

¶

He

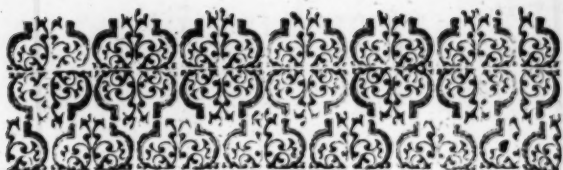
He may more safely doe, then you wish ill.
Then doe not triumph on a Lyon dead,
Whom living, all your men at armes did dread.
Starting aside, as doe the fearefull brood,
From his sterne eye that rules the gloomy wood.
O thou wilt be long liv'd in *Austrians* feare,
When thy great name shall strike their Nephewes care.
Yet let us mourne thy losse, to all but thee :
Who now art mixed with eternitie,
So was he borne, as he the heire had beene,
Of skilfull warre ; and victory his twinne :
So didst thou show thy day, and close thy Eeven,
As some new Planet had appear'd in Heaven.
Predominant on Hills, and Vales, and Woods ;
Vnaccett Marshes, and resisting Flouds.
Witnesse thy swift march on the various soyle
Of Germa. ' pased, rather with power, then toyle.
So art thou come and gone ; as thou wert sent,
To show what God can doe, not what he meant.
For hadst thou liu'd one yeere above that day,
Vien had beene thy seate, and *Rome* thy prey.
But it was time to dye : least men had said,
He was not mortall untill he were dead.
And now he lives againe so full of glory :
His deeds resist the credit of his Story.

Upon



Upon the glorious King
OF SVVEDEN.

SEEKE not (fadd Reader) here to find,
Entomb'd the Throne of such a mind;
As did the brave *Gustavus* fill:
Whom neither time nor death can kill.
Goe and read all the *Cæsars* Acts,
The Rage of *Scythian* Cataracts;
What Epire, Greece, and *Rome* hath done:
What Trophies *Goths* and *Vandals* wonne.
Reade all the worlds *Heroick* Storie,
And learne but halfe this *Heroes* glorie;
These conquered living: but life flying,
Reviv'd their foes, He conquer'd dying:
And *Mars* hath offered as he falls,
An *Hecatomb* of Generalls.
The great *Comparer* could not tell,
Whence to draw out his *Paralell*:
Then doe not hope to know him here;
For whom earth was a narrow Sphere:
Nor by a search in this small narrow roome,
To find a King so farre above a Tombe.



Vpon the King of

B O H E M I A.

S Tay (Reader) it is vaine to flie,
D aths universall Monarchy.
Mankinde hath no repose but one :
A bed of dust, curtain'd with stone.
Here lies a King whom envie must,
Acknowledge to be good and iust ;
A Prince unflattered, worthier farre :
Then his owne fame, or such as are,
Pure gold by strong afflictions tried,
By hope and patience mortified ;
Religious Martyr, *Austrians* hate :
Vuchang'd in all the powers of fate.
In this Tombe onely now at rest ;
Vntill the rising of the blest.
It is enough this Tragedie to tell :
This is the Prince for whom *Gustavus* fell.

An

AN ELEGY,

Vpon the most victorious KING of
Sweden, *Gustavus Adolphus*.

LIke a cold Fatall Sweat which Vshers Death,
My thoughts hang on me: and my labouring Breath
Stopt up with Sighes: My Phant'ly bigge with Woes
Feeles two Twinn'd Mountaines struggle in her Throes,
Of boundlesse Sorrow one, T'other of Sinne;
Forlesse let no one rate it, To Begin
Where Honour Ends. In Great *Gustavus* flame
That Stile burnt out, and wasted to a Name
Does barely live with vs. As, when the Snuffe
Which fed it failes, the Taper turns to Stuffle.
With this poore Snuffe; This Aiery shaddow we,
Of Fame and Honour must contented be;
Since from the vaine graspe of our wishes fled
Their glorious Substance is, now *He is Dead*.
Speake it againe, and Lowder; Lowder yet:
Else whilst we heare the Sound we shall forget
What it delivers. Let hoarse Rumour cry,
Till she so many Etchoes multiply,
Those may, like numerous witnessles, confute
Our unbeleeving Soules, that would Dispute
And Doubt this Truth for ever. This one way
Is left our Incredulity to sway;
To waken our deafe Sense, and make our Eares
As open and dilated as our Feares;
That we may feele the Blow, and feeling grieve
At what we would not feine, but must believe:
And in that horri Faith behold the World,
From her proud height of Expectation hurl'd,
Stooping with Him; As if Shee strove to have
No lower Center now then *Swedens* Grave.

O! could not all thy purchas'd Victories,
 Like to thy Fame, thy Flesh immortalize?
 Were not thy Vertue, nor thy Valour charmes,
 To guard thy Bodie from those outward harmes,
 Which could not reach thy Soule? could not thy Spirit
 Lend somewhat, which thy Frailtie might inherit
 From thy Diviner part, that Death, nor Hate,
 Nor Envies bullets ere could penetrate?
 Could not thy early Trophies, in sterne fight
 Torne from the *Dane*, the *Pole*, the *Muscovite*?
 VVhich were thy Triumphs Seeds, as pledges Sow'n,
 That, when thy Honours harvest was ripe grow'n,
 VVith full Summ'd wing thou Falcon-like would'st flie,
 And cusse the *Eagle* in the Germane Skie:
 Forcing his Iron-Beake and Feathers feele,
 They were not prooffe gainst thy Victorious Steele.
 Could not all these protect thee? or prevaile
 To fright that coward Death, who oft grew pale
 To looke Thee and thy Battailes in the face?
 Alas they could not. Destinie gives place
 To None. Nor is it seene that Princes Lives
 Can saved be by their Prerogatives.
 No more was Thine: who c'ol'd in thy cold Lead,
 Do't it from thy selfe a mournefull Lecture read,
 Of mans short dated Glorie. Learne you Kings!
 You are like him, but penetrable things:
 Though You from Demi-Gods derive your Birth,
 You are at best but Honourable Earth;
 And, how-ere Sifted from that courser bran,
 Which doe Compound and Knead the Common Man:
 Nothing's Immortall or from Earth refin'd,
 About you, but your *Office* and your *Mind*.
 Here then breake your False Glasses, which present
 You Greater, then your Maker ever meant:
 Make truth your Mirour now; Since you find all
 That flatter You, confuted by His Fall.

Yet,

Yet since it was decreed, Thy Lifes bright Sunne
 Must be Eclips'd, ere Thy full Courfe was runne ;
 Be proud, Thou didst in Thy Blacke Obsequies
 With greater glory Set, then others Rise.
 For in thy Death, as Life, Thou heldest one
 Most iust and regular proportion.
 Looke how the Circles drawne by Compasse meet,
 Indivisibly joynd head to feet,
 And by continued Points, which them unite,
 Grow at one Circular and Infinite :
 So did thy Fate and Honour now contend,
 To match Thy brave Beginning with thy End.
 Therefore Thou hadst, in stead of Passing Bells,
 The Drums and Cannons Thunder, for thy Knells.
 And in the Field Thou didst Triumphant Die,
 Closing thy Eye-lids with a Victorie.
 That so by thousands, who there lost their breath,
 King-like thou mightst be waited on in Death.

Liv'd *Plutarch* now, and would of *Cesar* tell,
 He could make none, but *Thee*, his *Paralell*.
 Whose Tide of Glorie swelling to the brim,
 Needs borrow no addition from Him.

When did *Great Julius* in any clime
 Attchieve so much, and in so small a time ?
 Or if He did, yet shalt Thou in that Land
 Single for Him, and unexampled stand.
 When ore the *Germanes* first his *Eagle* tow'r'd,
 What saw the Legeons which on them he pow'r'd ?
 But Masse Bodies, made their swords to try,
 Subjects not for his * Fight, but Slaverie.
 In that so vast expanded peece of ground,
 (Now *Swedens* Theater and Tombe) he found
 Nothing worth *Cesars* valour, or his feare ;
 No *Conqu'ring Army*, nor a *Tilly* there :
 Whose strength, nor wiles, nor practice in the warre
 Might the fierce torrent of thy Triumpes barre,

* *Magis trium-*
phati quam vi-
si. Tacit. de
Mor. Germ.

But

But that thy winged Sword Twife made him yeeld,
Both from his *Trenches* beat, and from the *Field*.

Besides, the *Romane* thought he had done much
Did he the *Banke* of *Rhenus* only touch:
But though his March was bounded by the *Rhine*,
Not *Oder* nor the *Danube* Thee confine;
And, but thy Frailty did thy Fame prevent,
Thou hadst Thy Conquests stretch't to such extent,
Thou might'st *Vienna* reach, and after span
From *Mulda* to the *Baltick Ocean*.

But Death hath Spann'd Thee. Nor must we divine
What Heire thou leav'st to finish thy Designe.
Or who shall Thee succeed, as Champion
For Liberty and for Religion.

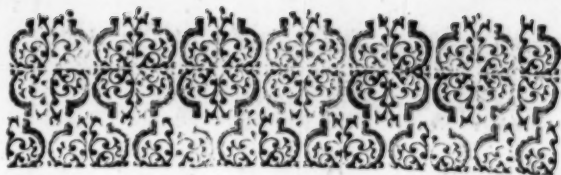
Thy Taske is done. As in a watch the Spring
Wound to the height, relaxes with the String:
So Thy Steele nerves of Conquest, from their Steep
Ascent declin'd, lie slackt in thy last Sleep.

Rest then *Triumphant Soule*! for ever rest!
And, like the *Phoenix* in her Spicy nest,
Embalm'd with thine owne Merit, upward flye,
Borne in a Cloud of Perfume to the Skie.
Whilst, as in deathlesse *Urnes*, each noble Mind,
Treasures thy Ashes which are left behind.

And if perhaps no *Cassiopeian Sparke*,
(which in the *North* did thy Rising marke)
Shine ore thy Hearse: The breath of our iust Praise
Shall to the Firmament Thy vertues Raife,
Then Fixe, and Kindle them into a *Starre*,
Whose Influence may Crowne Thy Glorious Warre.

HENRY KING.

On



On the famous CHAMPION of
Christendome, GUSTAVUS ADOLPHVS
King of SVEDEN, &c.

C An Christendom's great Champion sinke away
Thus silently into a bed of Clay ?
Can such a Monarch die, and yet not have
An Earthquake for to open him a grave ?
Did there no Meteor fright the Vniverse,
Nor Comet hold a torch unto his hearse ?
Was there no clap of thunder heard to tell
All Christendome their losse ; and ring his Knell ?
Impartiall Fates ! I see that Princes then,
Though they live gods, yet they must dye like men ;
And the same passing bell must toll for them,
Which rang but now, the beggars *requiem*,
When such a soule is from the earth bereaven,
Me thinkes there should be triumphs made in heaven :
And teares should run at Tilt at his decease,
To welcome him into a place of Peace :
Who, though he made warre, yet did alwayes strive,
Dying in warre, to leave peace still alive.

¶ ¶

Upon



Vpon the most puissant and victorious Prince and Souldier, *Gustavus Adolphus* King of *Sweden*, &c.

TIs sinne to weepe, or praise : oh let me vent
My Passion only in astonishment
Who sheds a teare for thee, brave *Swede*, thus flaine,
His eyes doe penance for his weaker braine.
And yet those eyes themselves, deserve this doome :
Which thus mistake a Trophie for a Tombe.
Or else, Thy foes may weepe as then they dud,
When as thou dy'dst : but all their reares were blood,
Oh what a tempest, what a sea was forc't,
Of tribute-groanes, and teares, to waite one ghost ?
No way, but death, they had, to flye thy face :
Thou quit' dst thy body, to pursue the Chase.
But, who pretends thy praise in best expression,
Endicts his judgement of confest presumption.
Bold tongue, touch not that head, that heart, that hand,
Which brought on's knees, when he did tiptoe stand,
The pride of *Austria*; back'd with all, but heaven ;
Himselfe of all, but of himselfe bereaven.
Thus having plun'd th' *Imperiall Bird*, alone,
Vpon those Eagle-wings to heaven he's slowne.
Why should he stay on earth ? The game is done.
Others can part the stake, which he hath wonne.
Tis low ambition, underneath his Story,
To aime a any Crowne but that of glory.
Then Cannon play, His bodie's sacrificed :
He is not canon'd : no, Hee's canonized.



On the King of SVVEDEN:

An Elegie.

IF thou be set in death, bright Northerne starre,
That wert the Cynosure o' th' Germane warre,
If (sublime soule) th' hast chose to disappare
In our horizon, to informe some spheare;
(For, our incredulous hearts would misbeleeve
Themselves saine, out of griefe, they have to grieve,
And Fame and Fate are tender, yet t' adresse
A truth so horrid to the world by expresse)
Twas, lest thy superstitious legions shou'd
Have idoliz'd an arme of flesh and blood.
Oh thy prophetique soule that predivyn'd
This cause, as prescious of th' Eternals minde !
So when God saw his Israel apt t' adore
The glorious instrument, that wasted ore
Their Sea-sav'd tribes from Pharian servitude,
He snatch'd that rich dust from the multitude.
Or, wert thou (Brave Prince) thus subduc'd, to shew
Twas to no thirst of Empire we should owe
Those rare atchievements, but to testifie
Heaven was thy prize, thou mad'st such shift to die :
Or, both to satisfie and yet convince
The jealous feares of every rivall Prince,
That at the Mountie gaz'd with envious eye,
Wert thou thus pleas'd un-emperor'd to die,
For, thou hadst else characterd, in thy name
And deeds, *Augustus* for thy Anagramme,

And all th'extracted quintessence, thy spirit
Of all th'heroique *Cæsars* did inherit;
Only that thirst of purer glory stood
Betwixt thy breath and such a publique good.
So have I seene a Falcon (to soare high,)
Lessen her selfe to invisibility:
The glimpse of this made thee, so oft, expose
Thy penetrable parts to shockes of foes,
That one would thinke thou heldst intelligence
With th'adverse Cannon, or some *Thetis* drench:
Had fortified thee Cap a Pee 'gainst Steele,
In all but (what foe never saw) thy heele,
The sea-sequestring Chiefe, whose sceptred Rod:
Establish'd freedom to the Church of God,
Had yet his period, and from *Nebols* toppe
Wasaine, by Prospective, to taste that hope,
He might not live to graspe i'th promis'd Land,
Whose seizure heaven kept for a *Ioshuabs* hand:
So thou (Mosaicque Prince,) this faire foundation,
By thee being laid to unslave the Germane nation:
Dy'dst, though confirm'd, content; Posterity
Shall raise a rooffe will crowne their liberty.
Propitious heaven, some brawnie nerves assigne
To give perfection, to this high designe.
Meane time, grim Death, and greedie Destinies,
Yee were not, in some grave opinions, wise,
To snappe his twine that sent you monthly shoales
To plie your Stygian barck, of war-flaine soules:
Now that his death hath dull'd *Bellonaes* rage
You may goe court Disease, or languid Age,
Or blind bold Empericks murdering ignorance,
That quashes more lives then Art can advance,
To keepe your Ferry custom'd, or depend
On fines and plagues to expedite mans end
Since Fates grand factor for mortality,
By your improvidence hath gain'd to die.

He

He that allai'd *Bavaria's* lofty puffe,
 Ruffled and discompos'd the *Spanish* Ruffe :
 Reduc'd *Bohemia*, the *Palatinate*
 Regain'd, check'd *Colein*, and gave *Mentz* the mate,
 Prick'd the swolne tympanie o'th' *Austrian* pride,
 Taught her reflexes to the Catholique tide.
 Enforc'd that oyle of Empire from his brinke
 Of Vastnesse, downe to Reasons Center sink,
 That re-invested truth and libertie
 In all his visits, through faire *Germany*,
 That tooke-in Cities with his very name,
 And *Cesar*-like, Came, Saw, and Overcame.
 That having done th'Imperiall office, (sav'd
 Religion.) yet th'Imperiall wages wav'd,
 With the perard of whose Authentique word
 All ports flew ope : upon whose lightning sword
 Sate wing-clip'd victory, who in sterne fight
 Wonne with his pike more then his pen can write :
 The fount of indeficient Stratagems,
 Th' *Affertor* of intrhalld Diadems,
 That knew no quarrell, but the publike right;
 Whose valour forc'd all fortitude to flight;
 That rush'd through danger, as if none were neere,
 When nothing else was nigh, fear'd only feare :
 Who though he could not daunce the *Brawles*, yet, in
 His compleat steele could tread a *Matachin*,
 And without Mimmick complements or Cringes,
 Had th'active Rhetoricke that turn'd the hinges
 Of all the grand designs of Christendome,
 And th'art, or to convert or conquer *Rome*;
 That like the *Danuby* rising but a spanne,
 Grew boundlesse as his *Baltique* Ocean,
 And by fine force, no *Simons* slye surprize,
 Got, (*Alexander*-like) faire victores.
 That like the Sunne, which from his early East,
 Gallops in twelue houres progresse to the West,

In

In eight moneths (as his historie reports)
 Conquer'd his eighty Cities, Castles, Forts;
 That, humble at his rise, knowing how nigh
 Supremacie borders on tyrannie,
 Yet (*Phabus*-like) concentred at his set
 His beames, to cleare with glory, Natures debt;
 That had the skill so rarely to combine,
 Sweetnesse with strictnesse in his discipline.
 That what the rigid Captaine could not bring
 To bow, crept to the milde Majestique King.
 (And yet how oft hath he the King declin'd
 To unscue a Centinels or Perdues minde)
 That par'd those Vultur-talons, and that beake
 R'eners'd, that under *Ioves* bird joy'd to wreake
 Their bloody teene on the recrescent breast
 O'th publike weale, for private interest.
 And (skie-borne *Perseus*) from the ravenous jaw
 Of *Fridland*, freed th'enchain'd *Andromeda*:
 He, he is slaine, and yet the stupid world
 Is not with him, backe to her *Chaos* hurld.
 For, staulking Eulogies, and talking tombes
 Are Popular incense, such as Fortunes groomes
 Are sacred with: and now each Burgers herse,
 Yawnes for her hachments, and her teares in verse;
 And shall He have no more? He whose retreat
 Was Crown'd with victory; on whose last sweate
 (The steame whereof had fainted u-) a flood
 Waited in stead of teares of *Romane* blood,
 Whose camp (the *Campus Martius* of the North,
 Where he sow'd souldiers) brought Commanders forth,
 Whose forward Springs were differenc'd from ours,
 By putting winter sieges forth for flowers,
 Whose eager pursuits of adventures hard,
 Rivers nor Rocks nor Forrests could retard;
 Beyond whose courage no *plus ultra's* were,
 And yet no souldiers wants beneath his care,

Whose

Whose *Mausolean* monument is All,
That *Germany* shall henceforth freeborne call;
And must He have no more? fond Griefe I no more!
This sea that hath no bottome, knowes no shore.
Yet thanks to Fortune, this grand-sacrifice
(That did in him whole hecatombes comprize)
Was, like a Romane expiation, lead
To death with wreathes of honour on his head.
Shee that sits Pilot at the sternes of States,
And all these casuall conquests moderates,
Saw that vnlesse this Worthies blood were spilt,
The fortune of the warre would over-tilt
To us: and *Sweden* proving Conqueror
Had triumph'd both'ore *Ferdinand* and Her,
Therefore to appease his Griefe, to peize our pride;
And ballast Fortunes Barke, *Gustavus* dyde.

Vpon



Upon the King of Swedens death.

BRave Prince, although thy fate seeme yet too strange
To be believ'd in Paules, or on the Change,
Though we lay wagers, and doe gladly choose,
To take that side where we are sure to loofe.
VVe but deceive our griefe, and faine would say
Thou liv'st, to give our sorrow longer day:
Were there no reason else, this might suffice
To prove thee dead, that we want victories.
We heare of no townes taken, and the Foe
Hath beene too long without an overthrow.
In thee the fortune of the warre expir'd,
And now what can be done to be admir'd?
To what use serves thy Army, but to weepe!
Whose greatest conquest now must be, to keepe.
But when thou didst command the valiant host,
How did thy victories out-fly the post?
How were they here before the faile, or winde
That brought the newes, but still left more behind?
One scarce could travell so much ground so fast,
As thou didst overcome: such warlike hast
VVent with thy deeds, which did all letters stufte,
That we could not beleewe them fast enough.
VVith thee to conquer was the same as passe:
Anothers long siege, but thy journey was:
And they which did thy sudden marches see,
Say'twas thy progresse to take *Germany*;
Indeed, what was the City, or the place
That thought it not a siege to see thy face;

And

And did not to thy single terror yeeld
 More then thy troopes, who only mad' st the field ;
 For, when, at first thy Armie was so small
 That the Foes poorest Regiment was all,
 Who seeing with brave scorne that venturous fight,
 Might thinke thou cam' st to Muster, not to fight,
 Yet thou mad' st both sides equall, and with thee
 Thy few men prov' d more then thy foes to be.
 Who when he lost the day found that the warre
 Lay more in thee then in his numbers farre :
 Which made him, when his Ensigne he forooke,
 To flie, not from the Ordnance, but thy look,
 For though the Cannon plaid, and bullet flew,
 Thou mad' st the battle, and from thee they flew,
 Who could' st instruct thy Engines; scarce a shot
 Went from thy souldiers Gunne without a plot.
 And dangers which it felt could not impart
 Were still increast and made more sure by Art :
 As if it had not beene enough to kill ,
 Vnlesse thou didst subdue the foe in skill ,
 Which from thy Childhood thou hadst learn' d so well,
 That thou didst then things for the Chronicle,
 And mad' st thy name great, even when so young,
 Almost to use thy sword before thy tongue.
 And farre beyond thy yeeres, thy face did move
 Feare in thy neighbours, when in Ladyes love,
 But all thou didst then in thy younger age
 (Although enough for others) did presage
 Onely thy riper Conquests, and did try ,
 By lesser warre to conquer *Germany* ,
 Now every march was project, and to move
 Did Stratagem and a new conquest prove.
 Hadst thou been then when the unpractis' d age
 Did know no other valour but their rage,
 When *Alexander* met his *Asian* Foe,
 Whose souldiers were no Army, but a show ;



Each

Each man so sprucely drest, each horse so gay,
And onely trim'd to make the braver pray,
Thy deeds had then beene wonder, and lesse Art
Had conquer'd all the world, then now a part.
Alas'tis easie to be victor there
Where the Foe first disarmes himselfe with feare,
And many have beene great Commanders thought
For meeting with no enemies that foughr.
But there to purchase glory and to be
A Conqueror, where so much victorie
Had often gone before, and there to winne,
Where to scape fairely had a Conquest beene,
Shewes all the Stories that are writ of old,
Are but small truthes when thy exploits are told,
Of which this was a great one, that to show
Thou gav'st thy passions first an overthrow,
Thy fortune did not swell thee, none could guesse
By thy vaiae triumphs, at thy good successe,
No souldier did insult, so tame the Drumme
Thy selfe so humble, as if overcome,
When most victorious. These were things did move
Thy enemies, and made them Conquest love
More then their peace before, who to be free
Did gladly choose to be o'recome by thee :
And if perchance they did one charge abide
They did resist, as they were on thy side,
For thou by all with such desire wert seene,
As if no Foe, but hadst their Captaine beene,
And fought't for them thou took'st, who did indure
No other Change, but to be more secure.
Such wert thou to thy foe, but more thy care,
To be such to thy Armie, as they were
To one another, who didst use to make
Each meane imployment glorious for thy sake,
And would't ennoble the obscurest place,
And make the lowest office not seeme base.

By giving first example, while thy hand
Did more then thou to others didst command.
Each Captaine was thy equall, but in this,
That still thy danger was farre more then his;
While with an even presence thou would'st dare
To passe the Cannon, though thy death lay there,
With such a bold and fearelesse march we reade
The Angel did the holy Armies lead,
Who free from all attempts would stand betweene
Two furious Camps, as much unhurt, as seene,
And so didst thou (great soule) till heaven did see
That thy bare rules great Conquerors would be,
And tooke thee hence, who to requite thy fall
Left thy example to be Generall.



On the King of Sweden.

I Will not weepe thy losse; nor say ther's none
Can relieve bed-rid vertue, thou being gone.
I will not curse thy victory, or say,
Though we were Conquerors, we lost the day.
That thou wert all of us; that in thy fall,
(Thou being its soule) 'twas the worlds funerall:
They that thus mourne, and sadly mention Thee,
Pitty themselves; and make an Elegie
On their owne hopes: and troubled at thy doome,
With craftie sorrow write on Christendome:
I that have read devoutly all thy Raigne,
And fear'd a feaver, Age, or some such paine,
As Easie Princes die of, might surprise
Thy ripe designs: robbing thy Obsequies
Of wonder and amazement: blesse thy fall,
Worthy thy Great selfe; braver farre then All
Thy enuyed Actions: there being nought to doe,
Greater then what th' hast done, but to die so.
When thou hadst tam'd all powers, made every thing
So hopelesse weake, Embassadors might winne:
Thou wouldest no longer stay, to shew thy hand
Aim'd at a Nobler Triumph, then their land.
That King who shall thy worth, thy warre intend;
May get thy Empire, hardly such an end.

Upon



Upon the King of Sweden:

THE Youth, hereafter, when old Wives shall chat
Gustavus high deeds; will aske *What Giant's that?*
For if by *vertue* we may measure man,
He did exceed sixe cubits and a spanne.
That size was low to him: for we now tell
A *Story* higher growne then *Chronicle*.
Where we find none that ever labour'd more
To *take away*, then he did to *restore*.
When *Austriac's Court*, *Asraa* out had hurld;
Then up stood He, *Chiefe Iustice* of the world.
O're Free States *Cesar* did himselfe extoll;
And on their *ruines*, reer'd his *Capitoll*.
When he usurpt that *Peecce* which had not on
His *Image* or his *Superscription*.
What though the *Eagle* be the *highest flowne*?
Yet was not th'ayre diffus'd for *him* alone:
But every *bird*, how small so ere it be,
Hath as good right to its owne nest, as he.
Rome for her best example, is paid ail:
And *Carthage* for her oft lent *Hanniball*.
Virtue the theme, the Schoole boy now needs none,
But *Him*, to make his *declamation*.
Who by so much *Romes Fabius* doth surpasse,
As others he; yet no *Cunctator* was,
In his quicke expeditions: Hee'd not be:
Like to the crawling *Spaniard*: whom you see,
Hath for the poore *Low-Countryes* warr'd so long,
That they claime now by just *prescription*.

Which

Which land though wonne at length, must cost too deare ;
Since that of *Canaan* cost but fortie yeare :

His speed will make time thinke, he had the hap,
At once to *view* and *conquer*, by the *Map*
Whose hand fought *Brachygraphie* : and did take
More in an houre, then ever tongue yet spake.
For no *Curran*to in a weeke could say,
So much as He could doe, but in a day.
And when it seem'd to *lie*, or write *too much*
In *English* ; twas good *History* in *Dutch*.
If it some townes, his *Conquest* had out-runne,
As *Prophecie* ; 'twas true ere all was done.

Yet dealt he not with such as us'd to *yeeld* ;
They never *gave* ; He alwayes *tooke* the field.
For when the game was his, and wonne the day ;
'Twas not their *dotage*, but his owne *good play*.

Armed when he retreated ; he would goe,
Like a *Sheld-Sea-Crab*, backwards ; and as slow.
His *front* was to *ards* ; though *from* the foe his *pace* :
And lookt then like a *Ianus*, both *sides face*,
Like that stout * *Hebrewes* choise ; rather then flying,
Desir'd his men should be three dayes a dying.

* David
2 Sam. 24. 13,
14.

Whose royall soule justly to dwell, deny'd,
In her owne body, yet unglorifi'd.
He was a *Dog*, no King, first chose to rub
His wretched life out, in a narrow *tub*.
„ *Who thinks the world too skant ; a holy heate*
„ *Justly entitles to the style of Great*.
Besides, the body rightly thought upon,
Is to the soule, but her *Pavilion* :
Whose nerves about the bones doe tye the skinne,
As coards the canvass doe, unto the pinne.
And at the first, wile *Nature* never meant,
To make the souldiers *mansion*, of his *tent*.
Wherefore this *Prince* like *Moses*, after Hee
Had led the people from *captivitie* ;

And

And scourg'd the nations, like some humane God,
Till rivers bled, done wonders with his rod:
Dy'd on the *top of honour*. *Pisgab* is
For a brave height, a mount much short of this.
But lest we worship Him: we know not where,
This day to finde his hidden Sepulcher,

FINIS.

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THE
SWEDISH
INTELLIGENCER.

The Fourth Part.

RELATING
THE CHIEFEST
OF THOSE MILITARY
Actions of the Swedish Generalls:

wherein the King himselfe was not
personally with the Armie.

As in the Palatinate , Triers , Alsatia , Suervia,
Westphalia, the *Lower Saxony*, and *Silesia*.

Wherein you have

Those Proceedings, omitted in the Second Part :
which are continued, untill the time of the
Kings death.



L O N D O N,

Printed for NATH: BVTTER and N. BOVRNE,
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THE SWEDISH INTELLIGENCER.

The advancing of another Spanish Armie into the Palatinate, after the King of Swedens departure thence towards Bavaria. What they did and suffered there, from Easter Eve untill Whitsuntide 1632. with their retiring out of it; the Rhinegraves pursuit of them : and the State they left the countrey in.



That the Spaniards had twice before since the King of Swedens coming into these parts ; attempted the reenforcing of their weakned garrisons in the Lower Palatinate ; and how they had , both times, beene forced over the Mosel againe , by the King and Rhinegrave : wee in our * *Second part* have before told you, Hearing now the King to bee marcht up after Tillie ; and their freind the Imperiall Generall Commissary *Ossa* , to bee very desperate & busie in *Alsatia* , next unto the Palatinate:

* See pag. 58.
and 75. of that
booke.

The Count of
Emden comes
with an army
into the *Pala-*
tinate.

they in March following, resume their former enterprise; & provide themselves of two several armies, for that purpose. Fourteene thousand strong, (though some mention but 10000, & others 8000) was the first armie said to march up, and the Count of *Emden* was their Generall. Some beleeve that the *Spanish* *Marquesse de Santa Croce*, was also in the action with him. The second armie was to be brought up by *Don Cordova*: who was to relieve the Count of *Emden*. Much encouragement had the *Spanish*, to hasten this their undertaking; for that they had intelligence sent them home from about *Triers*, that there was some contrast and jealousies betwixt diverse of those chieffer Commanders and Governours of townes in the *Palatinate*; whom the King had left there at his departure.

They being
past the *Mosel*.

take in *Kirch-*
berg.

The Count of *Emden* with the first armie, upon our *Easter eve*, the last of March 1632. passed himselfe in good order, by the bridge of *Triers* citie, over the river of *Mosel*: which they might freely enough doe, for that they had the favour generally of the *Elect*or of *Triers* subjects; and a garrison of their owne men in this citie. The *Spaniards* being now upon the Easterne side of the said river, they first of all (as both times heretofore they had done) go along the banck of it, unto *Traerbach*: two and twenty *English* miles, to the North-east from the bridge aforesaid. In the strong castle of this towne (like as in the most of all the good townes of this *Electorate*, those excepted which the *Rhine-grave* ere whiles had put them out of) had they their garrisons. Thence advance they unto *Kirchberg* in the *Hantz-ruck*, twelve *English* miles to the East of *Traerbach*. In this towne, had the *Rhine-grave* at his late taking of it, left 200 men (who indeed were not above 60) for the defence of it. These (though but a weake garrison God knowes,) yet endured they some Canon shots before they would listen to a composition: which, there being no other remedy, they were glad upon souldiers termes to accept of; and the *Spaniards* as glad to yeeld them, their intent be-
ing

ing to make halt into the further parts of the *Palatinate*.

Next advance they unto *Simmern*, 5 or 6 *English* miles to the North of *Kirchberg*: which towne they found not in so good a posture of defence as that they came last from; but readier to take the law from the stronger. Some *Swedish* forces there were, enquartered here and there, in the better townes of this countrey of the *Huntsruck*. These rallying themselves now together; were resolved to make some head against the proceedings of the *Spaniards*. But not being of themselves strong enough to confront the grosse of the *Spanish* armie, and out of hope withall to bee seconded from about *Mentz*; and all through the bad correspondency betwixt their chiefe leaders: (Duke *Bernard* I meane, and the old *Rhine-grave*) contented themselves onely to lie upon the catch, and to intercept some looser troopes of their enemies; which for pillage sake, durst adventure the stragling a little further from the armie. At severall times, they larcht up 4 or 5 of the *Spanish* Ensignes; which were at *Mentz* afterwards presented unto the Queene of *Sweden*.

but afterwards loose 5 Cornets to the *Swedish*.

This countrey of the *Huntsruck*, is very apt indeed for such like military reprisals; it being a very hilly and woody place: as if nature had meant it for the dressing of ambuscadoes; into which such strangers as are not well traded in the country, may easily enough fall.

The Count of *Embsen* never staying to revenge this, marches North-ward towards *Over-mesel* first, and to *Boppard* afterwards; this last lying not far from *Coblentz*, where the *Rhine* entertaines the *Mosel*. These two townes, and by their taking, all that corner of the *Huntsruck*, and Bishopricke of *Triers*, betwixt the *Rhine* and *Mosel*, being thus againe made *Spanish*; (even as farre as *Coblentz*, where of old they had a garrison:) the Count of *Embsen* converts his armes up againe by the *Rhine*s side towards the Southward; making all the speed hee could to the banks of the river *Nab*, whose streame runnes traverse to his marching. Where this river droppeth into the *Rhine*, stands the town

They cleere the country, as faire as the banks of the *Mosel*.

and

then pass the *Nab* into the *Palatinate*.

of *Bingen*; and 10 *English* miles to the Northward up the said streame, is the towne of *Creutznach*. To both them, the *Spaniards* now send some Partees; who bringing them word againe, that the townes were defended with good *Scottish* and *Germane* garrisons; they forbore to attempt either of them: quietly passing the river *Nah*, betwixt both into the *Palatinate*.

The *Rhinegrave* now sent out to observe them,

sits downe to stoppe them at *Nider Vlm*.

In none of these their proceedings hitherto, (except where wee before told you) had they met with any considerable power of opposition. The *Swedish* armie was not yet advanced into the field; the *Rhinegrave* onely with his Horse-regiment had hitherto beene by *Oxenstiern* sent out from *Mentz* towards them: & that rather to observe them, then oppose them. Hee perceiving them after their passing of the *Nah*, to advance to the Eastwards towards *Mentz*; retires still before them, till he came to *Nider Vlm*; within 6 or 7 *English* miles of *Mentz*, to the South-west-ward. Here sets hee downe his Regiment: because that this was the neereest Passe, by which the *Spanish* must come at *Mentz* citie. At this dorp, ends that ledge of little mountaines: which by a small rivers side (for 8 or 10 miles together) comes trending along from the very *Rhine* bancks.

who, whilst Duke *Bernard* prepares to draw out the Armie,

The *Spanish* having borne up close hitherto, with the *Rhinegrave*, and being now approacht within halfe a league of him: they at that distance, about the tenth of our April, there sate downe and rested. Hereabouts (at *Mentz*) they learned by some countrey Boores, that the chiefeft of the *Swedish* forces were now amassing; and that here, if any where, they were likely to meet with opposition. And they judged rightly: For now at *Mentz*, was the *Rex-Chancekor Axel Oxenstiern*: who together with that gallant yong sparke Duke *Bernard* of *Saxon-Weimar*; had an armie in readinesse of 15000 foot, and 72 Horse Cornets. The *Spanish* had notice, besides, given them, of the new and great fortifications about the citie; and that Duke *Bernard* had already drawne out the most of these troopes, into the

the new works : which the King before his going had given order to bee made ; aswell for the lodging of a campe royall there, as for the safe-guard of the 3 new bridges, over the *Rhine* and *Maine* ; all which you may see described page 57. of our *Second part*. Thus much had Duke *Bernard* done, by the seventh of April ; at which time, the *Spanish* were come up within a day and halfe's March of *Crenznach*. The towne lying at this guard ; and the *Rhinegraves* horse (at the Poast we last told you of) enquartered betwixt the *Spaniards* and the citie : they, (having intelligence of his posture) first resolve to set upon him there ; before those other forces should be drawne out of the citie, to assist him. Friday morning before day light, Aprill 13. was the time they appointed to make a *Cavalcado* upon his Quarters ; and *Lucas Cagro*, Commissary Generall of the Cavallery, was the man ; that with 1400 horse in 12 Cornets, undertooke the action. It so chanced, that the *Rhine-grave*, the very night before, had received both notice and assistance ; and was both wayes now provided, to entertaine them. The Chancellor *Oxenstiern* had newly sent him 400. *Finland* horse, under the well-tryed Colonell *Stolbanse*, who had also taken up his lodging upon the side of the same hill, on which the *Rhine-graves* men lay enquartered. Towards them (though not close up to them) the *Rhine-grave* that night hitched ; giving notice unto *Stolbanse* withall, of the *Spanish* purposes, *Don Lucas* knowing nothing, that his enemies knew so much ; thinkes in the darke morning to get the advantage of the hill-knap, and then to fall downe upon them with the more weight afterwards : hee still supposing his enemy to be in his old Quarters. The hill top that *Don Lucas* thought to have gotten, was the same knap which the *Rhinegrave* had before possessed himselfe of : on the side of which, *Stolbanse* was also lodged. The *Spanish* thus in the darke morning, with as much silence as they could, mounting up the climb of the hill ; stumbled first upon *Stolbanse* and his *Finlanders*, all ready in array to entertaine them

defeates 1400
horse of the
Spaniards, that
first set upon
him.

them. These charging one another; downe comes the *Rhingrave* at the noise of the first volleyes, upon the polles of them. The *Spaniards* having once discharged their pistolls and Carbines; and not being able to discerne, what forces they had now to deale withall: never staid to charge the second time; but turned their backs with all speed, and in much disorder hastened downe the hill againe. The *Fins* charge them upon the croopes; and the *Rhingrave* followed them downe the hill likewise. There were 10 fresh *Spanish* Cornets, now comming into the succour of their fellowes: who meeting them altogether now in rout, turne the bridle in like manner, and runne away with them for company, towards the leaguer. The *Swedish* still pursued, till the *Spanish* had recovered under favour of their owne Canon. In this flight, the *Spanish* left 5 (8 some say) Horsemens Cornets behind them, with about 120 common souldiers. *Don Lucas* his Lieutenant-Colonel (whom they called *Generall-adjutant*,) was here taken prisoner: together with 2 Ritt-masters or Horse-captaines, some few Officers, and divers common souldiers; all which were sent to *Mentz*, to be kept in durance for their ranfome.

And now because wee have chanced upon these two names, of *Commissary-Generall of the Cavallery*; and *General-Adjutant*: it shall not be amisse (I hope) for the understanding of our storie the better; to digresse a little, for the expcunding of these two offices. I take it, that this *Commissary-General of the Cavallerie*: is not altogether unlike a *Sergeant Major* of the horse, in the *Swedish discipline*: beyond whom, he hath the power of a *Commissarie*, for the provision of the troopes, over which he is *Major*. Hee is called *Commissary-Generall*; because his command is not in a single Regiment alone; but either over all the horse of the Armie; or some *Brigade* at least in it. Which *Brigade* in the *Spanish discipline* is not so small a *Bodie* of men, as the *Swedish Brigades* bee: but it is a full *Tercio* (so the *Spanish* call a *Brigade*) that is, a whole third part of the Armie, how many

See how many
marching
men make up
a compleat
Brigade: in
our Booke of
the *Swedish*
discipline.

many soever the Armie be. The *General-Adjutant*, that was Leiftenant to this *Commissary*: was the Leiftenant-Colonel to his Regiment. The *General-Adjutants* office, is to bee assistant to the *Generall*: That is, to be sent abroad for the giving or speeding of the Generalls commands, to the rest of the armie. He is commonly some able man, or some favourite at least unto the Generall. His place in the Armie, is that of a *Leiftenant Colonel*; of whom hee hath precedence, but is behinde all Colonels. A *General-Adjutant* is the same officer, which in our *English discipline*, wee call a *Corporall of the field*. The French call him *Vn aide de Camp*: an *Aide* or *Assistant of the field*.

To returne to our Storie. The *Spaniards* being thus put to the rout: and having in the time passed since the last fight had about 100 of their men slaine, and as many more taken prisoners; that had beene sent out upon espyals, and for provisions: the rest collecting by the sequell, that the *Swedish* armies were alreadie drawne out into the field: they all that day, and the next after it, contained themselves within their quarters. There (if by their next actions wee may suppose) did they thus resolve among themselves. That seeing *Mentz* was too strong to be medled withall, and that the *Swedish* forces (now come together) were likely to bee upon them at every turne, and to way-lay them withall, upon their march, betwixt *Mentz* and the *Palatinate*; that therefore the best of their play would be, by a sudden advancing to get before them; and by making towards *Frankendale*, to re-enforce themselves by joyning with *Don Philip*. Their next purpose was to take in *Spire* citie, and the townes next unto it: where, being backed with the neighbourhood of *William Marquesse of Baden*, *Ossa* and *Flarincourt*, (all then in the neerer parts of *Alsacia*) they resolved to expect the comming of the *Swedish*: and there to accept or offer battel, according to occasion, or advantage.

The next purposes of the Spanish.

This, (as if it had beene the maine of their intention) they next day put in execution. April 14 therefore, breaking

They dislodg.

and make to-
wards *Spier*
citie.

Don Philip de
Sylua joynes
with them.

The wood is
called *Hart*, in
which it stan-
deth.

king up from thence, they march to *Altzeim* 12 *English* miles to the Southward of them. Here they quarter for that night: holding very faire correspondencie towards the townsmen. From *Altzeim* goe they the 15 unto *Bockenheim*; a dorp with a castle at it, nere unto *Neulingen*, 16 *English* miles further to the Southward: where, upon the downes or wyld and hillie heath, they for that night encamped. Hence might their fires bee discerned, from off *Wormbs* steeple. Facing it about now to the Left, they the 16 arrive at *Grunstat*; a towne but one league and a halfe from *Bockenheim*, to *Wormbs*-wards; and within 7 or 8 *English* miles of it. Hither, the same day, out of *Frankendale*, (9 *English* miles to the South of *Wormbs*, and upon the same river of *Rhine* with it) comes *Don Philip de Sylua*, with 2000 horse: and foot (3000. some name) and 10 pieces of ordnance, to joyne with them. The *Spanish* thus re-enforced, and so neere now unto the Imperial citie of *Wormbs*: verily beleevd it was, that they had a moneths mainde towards it. But from these thoughts, was *Don Philip* able to dissuade them: who having beene so neere a neighbour unto *Wormbs* these many yeares; could well enough now enforme them, how strong a garrison of *Swedish* foot, with 8 Cornets of horse, (besides the Trainee-bands of the *Burgers*) there now was within the citie. For this reason (perchance) did the *Spaniards* forbear to attempt upon it. The next day, April 17, againe facing it about to the Right: towards *Spier* citie they make, which then bare due South of them. That night unto *Turckenheim* they come: 2 leagues and a halfe from *Grunstat*. By this time, had they well enough stored themselves with other mens cattell, and such like countrey provisions: Souldiers commonly (especially if enemies) having this good qualitie with them, not to leave, but to take, things where they finde them. April 18, they get up as farre as *Neustat* upon the *Hart*, by the small river of *Spierbach*: a very good towne, 9 *English* miles due south of *Turckheim*.

All

All these places, tis true, lie not in a straight line from *Alzeim* unto *Spiers*: and yet not much out of the way, neither: but being good townes, the *Spanish* thought not too much of the labour, to steppe aside a litle, for to take them. April 19, turning a litle more to the Eastward: they reach 4 leagues further: and within 5 *English* miles of *Spiers* citie. The next day being the 20 they first shew themselves before the ports of it: and the grosse of their Armie being in the afternoone come up; they immediately shew them their Canon, and demand up the citie. A faire, but not very strong Imperiall town this is; yea the Chamber of the *Empire*. The place of it, is upon the Westerne bancke of the river *Rhine*; some 11 or 12 *English* miles on this southerne side of *Manheim*, in the *Palatinate*. It had heretofore accorded with the King of Sweden, and accepted of his garrison: as Page 59 of our *Second Part*, we have told you. It was now kept with some 200 men, by Colonel *Horneck*: who had heretofore done the King very good service. And now also, as if he had not yet forgone all his former courage and reputation; he answers the first summons, as if he had meant to have beaten the *Spaniards* out of Christendome: for he thunders and sallies upon them, bravely. But the *Spanish* bringing forward their Approaches or Rowling trenches, soberly; and with many hands, having by the next morning almost perfected their lines, and gotten up 1, or 2, Batteries: *Horneck*, fearing another *Blacke May* day of it, should his towne bee stormed: hee upon the very next summons, the second day of planting of the siege; hangs out his white flag, to treat upon the rendering.

The chiefe of the Articles which he desired for his garrison, were these foure.

The *Spanish*
take *Spiers*.

1. To goe out with full Armes, swords by their sides, Colours flying, drummes beating, bullet in the mouth, and matches lighted.

The condition,
ons,

2. To have all his baggage, for himselfe and company.

B b 2

3. To

3. To have foure field peices.

4. To bee convoyed by the *Spaniards* as farre as *Wormbs*, 20 miles *English*, downe the *Rhine*, to the Northward.

For the townesmen, (*Lutheranes* for the most part) hee to this purpose articulated. That they should not be molested in their persons, goods, priviledges, nor consciences. For the *Cloyster-people*, and the *Lawyers* (which were many) and such other Officers and dependants upon the *Imperiall Chamber*; hee needed not make any conditions for their safeties: for they being all *Catholiks*, were of themselves so able to make a partie in the Citie, in favour of the *Spanish*; that they had beene one of *Hornecks* chiefe feares, and the occasion of his so sudden giving up the citie.

And thus was the faire and Imperiall citie of *Spier* rendered up unto the *Spanish*; about 10 a clock in the forenoone April 21. This being *May-day*, according to the *Spanish* computation.

Some say, that Colonel *Horneck* had (with that garrison) undertaken the keeping of the citie; and had refused other succours: which if hee did, he was then the more to blame for it; for that, had he held it out, hee had within a day or two beene relieved. Duke *Bernard Weymar*, with the *Palatine Birckenfelds*, having once learned which way the *Spaniards* after the last fight April 13, had directed their march, he upon the 16, advanced with 8000 foot and 3000 horse, out of *Mentz*, to have followed after them: and to have adventured to relieve whatever place, they should have attacked. He was already comne as farre as *Wormbs*, to this purpose: which was within little more then a dayes march, of the *Spanish* leaguer. Some say, that *Horneck* had notice of all this: and so much was at his sending for to *Mentz*, laid unto his charge by the Chancellor *Oxenstiern*; who immediately sent up word to the King, of his manner of yeelding up the citie. *Horneck*, indeed denied, any notice hee had of Duke *Bernards* comming: notwithstanding which, he was still kept under arrest, till his sentence came

Duke *Bernard*
going to re-
lieve *Spier*,
comes too
late,

came out of *Bavaria* from the King, that hee should lose both *Horne* and *neck* too, for it. But execution was deferred, and his excuses, of the impossibility for him with 200 men, to make good such a compasse of walls; when, especially, so potent a faction domineered in the towne, were accepted: which were, indeed, presented to the King, in his behalfe, by the *Queenes* Majestie, Duke *Bernard*, and some others.

Duke *Bernard* hearing *Spiers* to bee thus taken by the Count of *Embsen*, and that *Don Gonzales de Cordova* was already upon his march in the further parts of *Luxemburg*, to passe the *Mosel* also into the *Palatinate*, for the seconding of the Count of *Embsen*: hee sends part of the Armie towards *Manheim*, first, and returns the other towards *Mentz* againe: whence the *Rhinegrave* was with some of them, sent towards the *Mosel*, for the stopping of *Don Cordova*. *Wormbs* was at that time also taken new order for; & that gallant Cavalier *Christopher Haubald* (who had lately taken *Hanaw*, as P. 22. of our *Sec. Part* we told you) now became their Governor. *Hanaw* citie (you may please to understand) had beene restored to its Earle, the Lord of it; and *Haubald* with the Kings garrison, drawne out of it. He being now Governor of *Wormbs*, had 24 foot-companies, and one troope of horse, left in it for his garrison: the other 7 Cornets of horse which were in it, when the *Spaniards*, tother day, marcht by it; being now drawne out, to augment the Armie, *Haubald*, first of all, slightes and dismantles part of the Suburbs: the better to fortifie the citie: at which worke, causing 1500 Labourers to be daily employed; hee hoped within 14 or 16 dayes to make it so sensible; as not to feare the first sight or terror of an enemy. *Mentz* and *Mentz*, had all this while beene new strengthened, by the labours of 3000 Boores and souldiers; and some new workes made to it: especially by the *Gustavi-Stadt*, or New towne, which the King of Sweeden had caused to be added to it.

In this towne, and a little before this; had the *Bailiffe* of

and

returns home
again, upon
hearing of *Don*
Cordovaes com-
ming.

Manheim,

Wormbs,

strengthened.

The Actions of the Spaniards

Mentz beene laid hold of and imprisoned by the Chancellor. His fault was, for having continued a secret correspondence with his old master the Archbishop: and for having made a late and secret voyage to him unto *Cullen*. The Chancellor, it seemes, since the *Spaniards* marching by, had beene abroad to look to other places. At his coming home, about this April 20 the *French* Ambassador still resident in *Mentz*, made a great complaint of the Colonel the Governor, whom the Chancellor had left within the citie. The cause was, for that hee upon the hearing of the *Ecclesiasticks* faction in *Spire*, in favour of the *Spanish*: had commanded those at *Mentz*, to depart the citie; and had arrested some of them, for not obeying. The wise *Oxenstiern* willing to gratifie the Ambassador, released the arrest quietly, and restored the *Ecclesiasticks* to their Cloysters.

The Queene of
Sweden comes
to *Mentz*.

Towards the end of April, came the Queene of Sweden into *Mentz*: whom the Chancellor with some gallanter troopes of horse, went to meet withall. Diverse Princes and Gentlemen (both of the Countrey and Armie) went also to receive her Majestie as farre as *Costum*; about a mile or 2. from *Mentz*, and on the other side of the *Maine* towards *Franckford*. Here were 80 Companies of foot also put into Battaglia: through whom, the Queene with a traine of 20. coaches passing over the new made bridge: tooke up her lodging in the Electorall Palace, where shee remained till August after, that she went towards *Wurtzburg*.

The Swedish
sent towards
the Mosel, to
oppose *Don*
Cordova.

The Queenes person thus brought into a place of safetie, and these 3 good townes, with others, taken order for; part of the Armie is sent with the yong *Rhinegrave* towards the *Mosel*: fresh newes being againe brought to *Mentz*, that *Don Cordova* was come almost as neere as *Triers*, with 22 troopes of horse, and 6000 foot forces. This was about the beginning of our May, the 8 of which moneth, Duke *Bernard Weymar* having at *Mentz* discharged himselfe of the Armie; goes through *Wormbs* immediately up into *Bavaria*, to the King of Sweden: the cause of whole discontent,

discontent, wee shall anon tell you ; when namely, wee enter into *Gustavus Hornes* Storie.

Wee left the Count of *Emden* within *Spier*, whose Armie since their taking of that towne, had attempted nothing upon the rest of the countrey : excepting onely that hee enquartered some troopes in *Aenwiler*, *Cron-wissenburg* and *Landaw*. The occasion for this was (I suppose) in the Marquesse of *Baden* ; as wee shall tell you by and by. From the townesmen of *Spier*, (notwithstanding any former conditions made with *Horneck*) did the Count demand 100000 Dollars, which upon their complaint of povertie, were moderated to 80000. His souldiers made bold with their Hosts, now and then, if they saw any thing that liked them. Diverse of the richer sort, were now likewise accused for former practises with the *Swedes* : but the quarrell was not to the men, but to their purses.

The Count of
Emdens do-
ings in *Spier*.

The Marquesse *William* of *Baden* (hee that is commonly called so) having beene by his Imperiall Majestie appointed his Generall heretofore , in this *Circle of the Rhine* : sent word now , unto the Count of *Emden* , that he had order from his Imperiall Majestie , to take the citie of *Spier*, (which was the Chamber of the Empire) into his owne charge , and Imperiall protection. The Count returned him this answer ; That hee for his part , had commission from the King of *Spaine* to take in so much of the countrey, as had heretofore beene *Spanish* : so that every man being obliged to perform his best service for his owne Master, & to expect his commands onely : hee could not see that hee ought to yeeld up his possession in the place , untill hee saw some order for it from the Court of *Brussells*. This returne was the Marquesse constrained to accept of for an answer.

The Mar-
quesse of *Baden*
demands to
have *Spier*
surrendered
unto him.

The Count of
Emdens deni-
all of it,

But the Count of *Emden* very suddenly after this , was fayne of himselfe , to forsake the towne , without receiving any other commission from *Brussells* , then that hee could not from thence bee relieved. The *Swedish* troopes alreadie advanced towards the *Mosel* , intercepted a Courryer and

His necessities.

and a Packet of his to *Don Cordova*, and her Highnesse the *Archduchesse*: That unlesse hee might bee seconded from thence, within 14 dayes; he should no wayes be able to keep his possession in the countrey: but be constrained to venture his Armie into the mercy of the *Suedes*, at his countermarching. And so it fell out indeed: For the *Rhinegrave* having with his Armie by this time taken possession of the *Huntsruck*; *Don Cordova* that was now advanced as high as *Triers*, judged it a better peece of Soldiery to retire againe with his Armie, then to aduenture it upon such difficulties, Some of his horse, and 2. Commissaries (as I find) amongst them, being sent over *Triers* bridge into the *Huntsruck*, to discover the posture of the *Rhinegrave*, and to make provisions for the following Armie: were light upon by the *Swedish*, and sent prisoners into *Mentz*. Those that escaped, carryed this word backe unto *Don Cordova*, that the *Swedish* were too strong for him in the *Huntsruck*, und that they had posselt themselves of all the advantageous Poasts, in the woods and mountaines. This newes caused *Cordova* to retyre, and to leave the Count of *Embsen* but in a bad taking.

Don Cordova
cannot get o-
ver the *Mosel*.

The Count of
Embsen forced
to forsake *Spie-*
ers;

and the Rea-
sons.

Some other necessities, pincht at the same time upon the Count of *Embsen*. The Chancellor *Oxenstiern* had an Armie in his way to hinder his retraite: and so made it dangerous for him to goe: and the Marshalls *de la Force* and *d'Effiat*, were alreadye parted out of *Lorraine*, and into the edge of the *Palatinate*, with a *French* Armie: and this made it as dangerous to stay also; So that goe or stay, there was danger in it. And true it is, that the *French* Army was by the 21 of May, comne as farre as *Zweibrucken*, (the town of the *Palatine* the Duke of *Deux Ponts*) upon the Westerne frontiers of the *Palatinate*; about 40 miles distant from *Spiers* citie. The coming of these *French* forces, was in favour of the Elector of *Triers*: whom his Majesty of *France* had (against the *Spanish*) taken into his protection. Two prime forts had this Elector of *Triers*: both which

which hee had yeilded to consigne over into the *French* Kings hands: and these, this Armie now came (though the Elector, perchance, could have better beene contented not to have beene put to it, to make this consignment) to take possession of. One of these Fortresses, was the towne and castle of *Veldenheim*: and this was close by *Spiers*, within 6 *English* miles of it: too neere to be ill neighbours. The other strength they went to take seisin of, was the castle of *Hermanstein*; where the *Mosel* falls into the *Rhine*: and this corner if the *French* gat into, they would prove very troublesome to the *Spanish* in their passage backe againe, through the *Hunsruck*. And so, indeed, it after hapned. To these two, is a third necessity to be added The Prince of *Orange* was now preparing for the field; so that there was likely to bee more use for the *Spanish* at home in the *Lam. Countries*, then here above in the *Palatinate*.

And these are some of the reasons, that constrained the Count of *Embsen*, so suddenly to forsake these quarters. This is sure. That about the same day moneth, that he took *Spiers* citie upon, he againe forsooke it, Saturday April 21. he entred it, & upon Whitson Munday May 21 he again leaves it. *Don Philip de Sylva*, who had so long beene Generall in these * parts upon the *Rhine*; now prepares likewise to returne home with the Armie. This Generall, tooke order before his parting, for the re-enforcing of the garrison of *Franckendale*, with 3. fresh troopes of horse, & 1200. footmen. The Magazine he also caused to be new stored; and the sicke and unserviceable people, to be brought out of it. For the defence of *Spiers*, did the Count of *Embsen* appoint 1000 horse and foot; and so left the neighbour countrey, to the direction of the Marquesse of *Baden*, as hee had desired. The Generall *Ossa* perceiving the *Spanish* about to goe; hee forsakes *Alsatia*, just about this time, going with all speed to the siege of *Bibrach*: of which see Page 170. of our Second Part.

The *French* come with an army through the *Palatinate*.

* Hee was Generall of all the *Spanish*, in the *Palatinate*, and the 3 *Ele. Horates* of *Mentz* and *Trier*.

The 2. *Spanish* Generalls parting from *Spiers* May 21. and
Cc having

The actions of the Spaniards

The Spanish
feining to
march up the
Rhine,

suddenly turn
aside towards
the Mosel,

narrowly sca-
ping by the
French Armie.

having drawne out all their troopes of the neighbour quarters : and taking but 5 fielding peeces along with them : they give it out, before their going out of *Spiers*, that their purpose now was to march upwards into *Alsatia*, by the *Rhines* side, and there to joyne with the Generall *Ossa*. This was a devise to amuse the *Swedish* withall : whome the *Spaniards* (the chiefe of their desire now being to make a quiet retraite) were not willing to have any thing to doe withall. Having advanced to the Southward as farre as *Germerheim*, (or thereabouts) that is, some 8 or 10 *English* miles from *Spiers* : they that very night, turne faces about to the right, towards the *Mosel*. And indeed the old Proverbe is here true enough, That *the furthest way about, is the neereft way home* : seeing that by this meanes they scaped that rugged and woody passage through some of the crags of the old mountaine *Vogassus* ; which all the way to the Westward, they left above them upon the right hand. The first good towne of the *Palatinate* which they toucht at, was *Keyfers-Lauter* ; about 30 *English* miles from *Spiers*, upon the river *Lauter*. Here staid they but one night, May 23 : their desire being to make such hasty marches ; that they might be past by, before the Chancellor *Oxenstierns* armie at *Mentz*, should heare of it : or at least before the *Rhine-graves* Armie about the *Huntsruck*, should bee conjoynd with him. One night before that the *Spanish* lodged at *Keyfers-Lauter*, did the Van of the *French* army arrive at *Zweibrucken* : which was within 18 *English* miles of *Keyfers-Lauter*. Thus the *Spanish* being in good time passed by, the *French* (as soone as they heard of their going by) instantly send away the troops appointed to take possession of *Hermanstein* : into which the Elector of *Triers* entertained them, upon Saturday May 26 following.

The *Spanish*, with long and hastie marches, still advance towards the *Mosel* : and the Chancellor *Oxenstiern* having notice brought him of it unto *Mentz*, the same night of their departure ; he with all speed, the next day, preparing
all

The Chancellor
Oxenstiern,
makes out af-
ter the Spanishe,

all things necessary for the expedition: parts, upon the 23, with the *Palatine Christian of Birckenfeldt*, from *Mentz* unto *Altzeim*; Fifteene thousand foot (halfe so many per-chance) and 80 troopes of horse, was hee said to lead along with him; and having sent word of it to the *Rhinegrave*; and given him order to come towards him: hee for that night encamps before *Altzeim*. This having been the way that the *Spanishe* had before taken, in their advancing to-wards *Spier*; the Chancellor supposed they would make their retreat that way againe; and had therefore thought to take up that passe before them. But their march lay not that way, now; but some 2 or 3 leagues more to the West-ward. The next morning May 24, was there word brought unto the Chancellor, that the *Spanishe* had quartered the same night at *Gelheim*; a market towne some 7 or 8 *English* miles from him.

The Chancellor not willing to lose this opportunitie; prepares to goe to meet with them; and to give them as good a farewell out of the countrey, as they had received an entertainment into it. The yonger *Rhinegrave* was dispatched, before hand, with some troopes of horse of his owne and *Hornecks* Regiment, to attack the *Spanishe*; whilst the grosse of the *Swedishe* foot, with the Canon, might get up to them. The *Rhinegrave* first found the *Spanishe* Armie in an indifferent faire and large valley, neere unto *Steinbach* cloyster: where encountering those 4 Cornets of horse, that then had the Van of the Armie; he routed them first of all, and (as some say) tooke away 3 of their Cornets.

whome the
Rhinegrave first
lights upon.

The *Spanishe* having field-room enough to put themselves into Battaglia, did it presently; and rightly supposing withall, that it was not some few troopes, or any one single Regiment alone, that durst thus confront their whole army: and that too, in a place of no advantage; and where they might well discover their whole strength: they certainly concluded thereupon, that the whole *Swedishe* forces were at hand, and they (doubtlesse) withall resolved to bid them

The Spanish
entertaining
the skirmish,

battell. Putting out therefore some primer horse troopes (and those well lined with muskettiers) to entertaine the *Rhinegrave*: they first of all wheele about their whole Armie a little to the left; the better to gaine the advantage of the wood, in case of necessitie to retreate unto. And as if they had now also considered; That their former way towards the river *Nah* betwixt *Crentz-nach* and *Bingen*, was so stoppt up by the *Swedish*, that they must either fight for their way, or decline it: they then resolved upon the latter. Sending away their baggage-wagons and heavier lumber, on before towards the towne of *Lauterbeck*: they maintained the skirmish with the *Rhinegrave*, till their baggage were well advanced into the woods, which was a place of safetie.

send away
their baggage
before, and al-
ter their course
of marching.

Yea they did not maintaine the skirmish alone, but they had the better of it. Two of the *Rhinegraves* owne troopes, having too fiercely and too forwardly given on upon them; they make to get them further off: the *Swedish* feeling, by and by, that horsemen and muskettiers, were too hard for pistols and *Carabins*, onely. These two troopes being foundly pelted by the *Spanish*; take the rout presently upon it; and turne the bridle towards their owne people. Four troopes of *Hornecks* Regiment, being sent by the *Rhinegrave*, for the succouring of these runne-awayes: received into themselves so great an impression of cowardise; from the others feares; that they also turne the bridle with them, and gallop with all speed towards *Alzeim*. Nor could the *Rhinegrave* by any meanes get them to make head againe: one Cornet and one Sergeant (2 of each, say some relations) he presently caused to bee hanged: and yet would not the others ever stay to profit by the example.

They route 6.
troopes of the
Rhinegraves,

and recover the
advantage of
the woods.

The *Spanish* contenting themselves to have thus beaten them away, and to have recovered the honours of their 4. former Cornets: continue on their march never looking to pursue after them. And this, indeed, was their wisest course: more conducing both to their safeties, and their purposes:

poses: their intention was not to fight, but to retreat; and hitherto they had made good thus much of it. By this time was the Chancellor neere at hand, with the ordnance and grosse of the Armie: upon whose comming, the *Spanish* disdained not to save themselves (though in good order) among the trees and thickets of the Forrest. Some troopes they left upon the edge of the wood, to entertaine the time with the *Swedish*; till their baggage should have gotten on further out of danger. I doe not finde that there was much more that day done, against those in the woods-side. It was almost night, by this time; for the *Swedish* Foot had met with so many hills and bushes in their march, that they could no sooner get up to make a day of it.

The *Spaniards*, so long as day light lasted, made very good use of the wood to defend themselves in, against the *Swedish*. Every tree, served their muskettiers, both for a *Rest*, and for a *Buckler*: every bush, was as good as a *Turn-pike* or a *Galtbrop*, to keepe off any charge of horses, and to hinder their comming on in order. Among the boughes of the trees, were not the enemies Pikes manageable: nothing but Canon, could doe them any mischief; and out of their reach, they could quickly get them. In this posture did the *Spaniards* maintaine it, till the approaching darknesse: the favour of which advantage, being the thing they most longed for; they now marcht away with all their diligence. The *Swedish* not daring to pursue them, for feare of ambushes: were faine for that night to encamp, without the edge of the wood aforesaid. All that night, the *Spaniards* marched: and by breake of day the next friday morning, May 25, did the *Swedish* horse againe pursue after them. But the woods and hillie wayes, proved so cumbersome; and the *Spaniards* had so farre gotten the start of them; that though the *Swedish* Cavallerie did, now and then, overtake some of them, and made some spoile upon their Reere, (among such especially, as were by any mischance cast behinde their fellowes) yet still did the others get so much

Continuing
their retreat:

They are pursued by the
Rhingrave.

ground of the *Swedish* Infanterie, as that they could never get up, to give them a generall onset.

The manner
of the retreat.

Those *Spanish* horse that were left behinde, either to manne the Reere, or to guard the baggage; would turne againe, now and then perchance, and give the *Swedish* their pistolls, and so kill or spoile them a man or two, that way; but yet they never stood to it: their purpose being, to make good their retreat; & if they did skirmish, now and then, yet still was it but retyring. The *Swedish* being all horse, had this advantage upon the *Spanish* Foot: that they could ride out and in, and charge them upon which flank they pleased; the *Rhinegrave* upon one hand, and the *Fins* under *Stol-hanshe* upon the other: and both at pleasure. And yet that which afflicted the *Spanish* worse then all this, was, that their enemies still soliciting them with renewed Alarmes; they could never be suffered either to pitch, or sleepe; nor to take any manner of rest, night, or day, for 40 houres together. Being thus enforced to march forwards, still, & forwards; if any encumbrance withall, chanced to fall among their wagons, or any carriage of their ordnance to be broken: either must those necessary implements bee forsaken, or the mens lives most desperately be exposed, that durst stay behinde either to mend or defend them. The whole Army would never make *Halt* or stay, for any private occasion: and in this posture did the *Spaniards* retreat, & the *Swedish* horse pursue (the grosse of foot following on as fast, as might bee) till they came to *Lauterack* a foresaid; full 16 miles of ground from *Gelheim*, (neere which the fight beganne) and as heavy to march, as some other thirtie.

They burne
their cariages
at Lauterack:

The *Spaniards* seeing now no remedie, but that the *Swedish* were likely to pursue them ever; and perceiving withall, diverse of their owne wheeles and cariages to bee by this time much broken and shattered in the woods and rugged mountaines: they there resolve to ridde themselves of that lumber. Here set they fire unto a many of their wagons; the cariages of their ordnance, they burned; and

& the peeces they drowned in the river *Lanter*. Their sicke & wounded men, they put upon the horses that had drawn them; and so halted to the Northward, towards the *Mosel*. Being thus lightned; now double they their march: and from thence to the river *Nab*, (which gave them entrance into the Duchie of *Simmern*, and the *Huntsruck*:) they had something a more champion countrie to doe it in. Here the *Swedish* gave it over; staying about *Lantereck*, awhile, to refresh themselves: from whence, the Armie turned aside, partly towards *Crentznach*, 15 *English* miles to the right had and North of *Lantereck*; and partly back againe to *Altzeim*. The way betwixt the first encounter and parting of the Armies, lay strewed with dead, maimed, sick, and wearyed bodies, ever and anon; *Spaniards*, *Italians*, *Wallons* and *Burgundians*: of which (if you will take the *Swedish* and the Boores reckning) there were full 2000. The drowned ordnance were found, and weighed up againe. Some 400 (others name 800) wagons, either burnt or left behinde: 40 of which the *Spaniards* hoping to have caryed way, and therefore not burned; fell whole and wholly, into the hands of the *Swedish*. In these, were much bedding, brasse, pewter and iron: with such like leaguer-houholdstufte. Divers prisoners were taken; and among them, about 60 Officers: all which were carried into *Mentz*. Of the *Spanish* Armie that thus marcht away, were there said to bee 8000 foot, and 3000 horse, or neere upon it (not so many I beleeve) all which, by the beginning of June, were gotten as farre as the *Mosel*, and some part of them already passed it. Much encumbrance did they after encounter withall, in the Elector of *Triers* countrey. The *French* forces, and his owne, hee now made to way-lay them; employed 3000 Boores, to cut downe the trees for the hindering of their passage: and all victuals was conveyed away out of their reach. Thus the *Spaniards* made good their retreat: and though they did it with much hazzard, and many losses; yet, al-together, was it a very good peece of service of them.

and there the
Swedish give it
over.

Their losses.

and encum-
brances in the
Bishop of *Tri-*
ers country.

And

The actions of the Spaniards

And (I beleove) the *Swedish* were as glad, as the Countrey, that they were so cheape ridde of them.

Don Gonzales de Cordova and *Montemery* Governor of *Maastricht*, having not beene able to get over the *Mosel*, to the reliefe of the Count of *Embsen*; now, for feare that the *Swedish* should have passed over after him: stayed for the said Count in the countrey of *Lutzenburg*: and afterward peeced in with him about *Naamou* and the river *Maze*. The Count of *Merode*, with those forces which he had thereabouts newly levyed for the Emperor; was then about the *Mosel* towards *Cullen*; but he went not along with *Embsen* nor *Don Cordova*: hee being then in entertainment with the Elector of *Cullen*.

And thus ended that expedition of so much expectation, of the *Spanish* Armies into the *Palatinate*. But this is the fortune of the warres, that the masters of the field must now and then take their turnes, and bee beaten out of it.

The *Swedish* part of the Armie, which returned from the fight, to *Alzeim*; went presently with the Chancellor back againe to *Mentz*: and the other part, that moved towards *Crentznach*; went forward with the *Rbinegrave*, after a while, into the *Hunsruck*. There hee reprised (though with some little adoe, at first,) the townes of *Kirchberg*, *Simmern*, and others; wherein the *Spaniards* had left some weake garrisons. Nor had the *Swedish*, after this, much adoe about the *Palatinate*: till that in July after, they were sent for by the King to *Norimberg*.

The state in which the *Spaniards* left the *Palatinate*, shall wee now tell you of. Having made themselves masters of *Spiers*, they forced some garrisons upon the next neighbour walled townes, that had beene voluntarily quitted by such *Swedish*, as were there enquartered: even as the selfe-same townes had beene before quitted by the *Spanish*, as *Pag. 59.* of our *Second Part*, wee have before told you. These townes were *Anemylar*, *Cron-Wessenburg*, *Landau*, and some others: and out of these (as being nothing fencible) they now at parting

The state in which the *Spanish* now left the *Palatinate*, and the Bishoprick of *Spiers*.

parting withdraw their new-put-in garrisons. At *Germerheim* onely, did they now leave some companies. This being a pretty tight place of it selfe; would be a good safeguard, besides, unto the strong towne of *Vdenheim* (or *Philipsburg*) which lyes but one *Dutch* league to the East of it; the *Rhine* running just betweene them. The garrison of this towne, which had beene put in partly by the Bishop of *Spies*, and partly by the Chapter: and which by often going out upon Boote-haling Partees, with the *Spanish* garrisons of *Heidelberg* and *Frankendale*, (especially before the *Spanish* and the Bishop had any difference) had beene three quarters *Spaniolized*: they now left in very good termes with themselves; and upon termes with their Lord the Bishop, now enemy to the *Spaniards*. The Chapter or *Dom-Herren* of the Cathedrall Church of *Spies* was their freind; and their owne Bishops adverfarie: and for their sakes, did the *Spanish* now forbear the other lands of the Bishoprick. The quarrell was this. The Bishop *Philip Christofer* of *Spies*, was now Elector of *Triers* also: unto which in the year 1623, he had beene chosen. This Prince, had not only concluded his *Neutrallitie* with the King of *Sweden*; but put himself under the *French* Kings protection: & by a *Proclamation* commanded all the *Spaniards* out of his countrey. His Fort and Electorall castle of *Hermanstein*, had he now also actually consigned over unto the *French*: and had likewise sent unto *Vdenheim*, (the towne of his Residence for his Bishopricke of *Spies*) to have that delivered over to them. This so enraged both his Chapters, of *Triers* and of *Spies*, (who were wholly *Austrianized*) that they forthwith proceeded to a formall and legall *Admonition* of him: which amounts to little lesse, then a *Deprivation*. The Bishop sending his Trumpet unto the garrison of *Vdenheim*, to deliver up the place unto the *French*; his desire was countermanded by the Chapter of *Spies*: so that the Governour answered peremptorily, *That he held for the Emperor*. Thus were the *French* Generalls frustrated of this hope.

D d

Having

See Pag. 69.
and 72. of our
Second Part.

Differences
betwixt the
Bishop of *Spies*,
and his
Chapter concern-
ing *Vdenheim*.

Having here made mention of the Elector of *Triers* and his *French* dependencie, *Swedish Neutralitie*, and enmity with the *Spaniards*: it shall not bee amisse to repeate something here, (though from an ancients original) which may conduce to the understanding of his *State*, and our *Storie*.

This *Philip Christofer*, then Bishop of *Spiers* onely; had his ordinarie Residence at this *Vdenheim*: concerning which, there had formerly fallen out a controversie betwixt the last Prince *Palatine* & him, and upon this occasion. In the year 1618. the Bishop had a mind to fortifie this *Vdenheim*: against which, the *Palsgrave* thus argued. That the place had beene viewed, and the modell projected by *Spinola*. That it thereby being made suspitious; would become also dangerous to his Estate; if either his enemies should get in thither, or the Bishops in time to come, prove enemies to the *Palatinate*. He urged also, that this fortification would hinder his right of sending convoyes or *Safe-Conducts* by, or through the towne. That it was contrary to the privileges of the citie of *Spiers*; which was, to have no new Fort erected, within 3 leagues of it. The Bishop not desisting for all these reasons, the *Elect* *Palatine* procures a meeting of some Princes at *Heilbrun*, upon it. There did the Duke of *Wurtemberg*, the *Marquesse* of *Durlach*, and the Earles of the *Wetterau*, assist the *Palsgrave* with 4000 armed men, to slight and dismantle the whole Fortification. Hereupon was it thus agreed betwixt the *Palsgrave* and the Bishop, with consent of the *Dom-Herren* or *Prebends* of *Spiers*: that the part betwixt the *Fora-sourne* and the Castle, should bee left unfortified: and never to be made up, but by consent of the *Palatines*. That the Bishop should never put above 30. men into it, for *Day-Warders*: and that in time of warres, the place should be a refuge for the *Palsgraves* subjects. But this agreement was in time of these late warres, broken by the Bishop: when the *Palsgrave*, namely, had no power left, to exact the performance of it. But thus much hath the Bishop now gained by it: that this towne of *Vdenheim*, which

and some old
discontents
betwixt the
Palsgrave and
the Bishop;
about it,

and the cau-
ses.

hee

hee built against the will of his friends, he hath now fortified for his enemies. The Capitaine that now commanded in this *Philipsburg*, having made this deniall to the Bishops Trumper; to shew him withall how much good earnest he meant in it: set fire presently upon some of the new buildings next the castle, to prevent the lodging of any enemies in it: and prepares himselfe throughly for resistance. This was the state of *Valdenheim*, when the Spaniards forsooke the *Palatinate*.

The constitution of all the countrey together, was this. In *Frankendale* the Spaniards left, (or were to leave) 1200. under *Wareles*. In *Heidleberg*, 2000. In *Spiers*, 1000; and in *Germerheim*, about halfe so many. In *Neustas*, likewise, *Bresten*, *Sintzheim*, *Pfedderheim*, and *Fidelsheim*; they left some smaller garrisons. Some writing tells mee, that *Don Philip de Sylva* did not send in those 1000 foot and 5 Cornets of horse into *Frankendale*, as he had promised. I perceive that the chiefe command over the *Militia* in the *Palatinate*; was entrusted, principally, in the hands of Colonel *Metternish*, Governour of *Heidleberg*. All the Countrey of *Alsatia*, was left to the Marquesse *William of Baden*: who, indeed, staid not long in that his regencie. For hearing how ill the Spanish had sped in their retreat; that the Swedish army was returned to *Mentz*; that *Gustavus Horn* was comne downe to bee Generall about the *Rhine* and *Mosel*: and that the passages, betwixt *Heidleberg* and *Frankendale*, were likely to be every where blockt up, by his horse quarters: he by mid June drawes all the forces, out of *Spiers* and *Germerheim*; and retires home-wards to the defence of *Alsatia*; and that which he calls his owne Marquisate of *Baden*. And into these parts, *Gustavus Florn* presently sent the wars after him.

The *Rhinegrave* after the departure of the Spanish; (for want of other employment) made a designe for the recovery of *Kirchberg*; wherein they had left a garrison. He had already advanced the service, as farre as the making of a

The Rhinegrave
besieging
Kirchberg,

is beaten off
again.

sanctable breach in the wall; and the mounting of his scaling ladders. His men, having order now to storm, so soone as they perceived the resoluteness of the defendants, and that a Lieutenant who had the point, and fell first on upon the Breach, was with 50 of his followers shot dead upon the place: they could by no means be perswaded to give on, after them: but (cowardly enough) came running off againe, faster then ever they went forward. And thus was the Rhinegrave faine to sound the retreat; and, for that time, to levie his owne siege of Kirchberg. Shortly after this, when, namely, the French Armies were come a little neerer to these quarters; and Gustavus Horne upon his march thitherward, to the sieges of Coblenz, & of Grasen-berg: the Spaniards in this towne, Simmern, and other places, yeelded upon the first summons: and went off with soldierly Conditions.

This siege, was in the end of May, and the beginning of our June: by which time, was Gustavus Horn come downe out of Bavaria from the King of Sweden: with commission to command the Armie, in the parts about the Rhine and Mosel.

GUSTAVUS



GUSTAVUS HORNS PROCEEDINGS.

From the time of his being sent downe out of Bavaria, by the King: untill the time of his going up againe thither with an Armie, after the Kings Death.



Now the gallant yong Cavallier, Duke Bernard of Saxon-Weymar, (second brother unto Duke William) had at the Kings marching up into Bavaria, beene left behinde with the Armie about the Palatinate: you may collect by what hath beene before written. Thereason for which his leaving there, is no secret in those parts. His birth, which is of an Electorall familie: his hopes, sure (if hee lives) to bee heire to his Vnckle, the Duke of * Saxon-Coburg: with his personall valour and abilities: had allured the King of Sweden, to settle some desires upon him. Seldome hath there beene any great act of warre, but that something of Love hath chane'd in betweene; as if to cheere and sweeten the sad Scene of it. This observation, have the Poets thus represented by still bringing in a Venus, into Duke Bernard.

Dd 3

Mars

* This old Duke being since dead, there is another heirelesse Prince, in the possession: after whom, the Honor is entailed upon Duke Bernard.

Mars his storie. The God of love, is painted, armed: and Love though a *romicall passion*, yet still beares it a Part, either in the *Plot* or the *Catastrophe*, of *warres Tragedie*. All *Stories* would bee full of these discourses, had they the luck of it, (like that of the 12 *Cæsars*) to have a *Suetonius*, as well as a *Tacitus*: a *chamber-blab* to tell tales of what was enacted in the *withdrawing roome*, as well as what was executed in the *Leaguer*. The King of Sweden, plainly, had made some private overtures unto Duke *Bernard*, of a marriage betwixt him and a faire yong *Swedish Ladie*, daughter to his owne Sister, whom his *Queene* had brought with her into *Germanie*. This Ladie being left with the *Queene* about *Franckford*, Duke *Bernard* was stayd about *Mentz* also: by which neerenes, he had the better oportunity to make Court unto his *Mistresse*. Where the fault was, I know not. Sure it is, that in the Kings absence, there had fallen out some discontent betwixt Duke *Bernard*, and the *Rex-Chancellor Oxenstiern*. The occasion was, for that the Chancellor had given some command over the Armie, (which Duke *Bernard* had expected) unto the *Rhinegrave*. Not unto that Cavalier the *Rhinegrave*, *Otto Lodowick Leiftenant of the horse*; but unto the *Rhinegrave Otto*, unkle to this Gentleman: who had heretofore been a suiter unto the King, to bestow the towne and Jurisdiction of *Bingen* upon him, which had bene part, erewhiles of the *Electer of Mentz* his Bishopricke.

The cause of
Duke Bernards
going up to
the King,

Duke *Bernard*, hereupon, going up to the King, then at *Munchen*: received some hopes of satisfaction; and of being made *Leiftenant Generall of the Foot*, unto his Majesty: which hee withall expected, should by sound of trumpet have bene proclaimed throughout the Armie. But the King suspecting, how ill *Sir John Banier*, (whose place that is) must needs take that: gave not that content unto Duke *Bernard*, in this particular. A speech there sometimes likewise was, in the Armie, that Duke *William Saxon-Weymar*, should have bene *Generalissimo*, or *Leiftenant Generall* over all the

the Kings Armies and Commanders. These misses, caused some private discontent in Duke William and his brother Bernard: which, some suspect, was never heartily taken off againe, to the Kings dying day. However, the King to give Duke Bernard and his brother some content; immediately sent away Gustavus Horn to command that Armie about the Rhine and Mosel; which Duke Bernard came from: that so there might bee one lesse in the Armie, betwixt the King and them. When, also, at his comming out of Bavaria, hee left Duke William with an Armie there; it was with the Title of *Leiftenant-Generall*. And this is some part of the secret, for Duke Bernards going up: and for Gustavus Horns so sudden comming downe, towards the *Palatinate*.

and of Gustavus Horns comming downe, to this Armie.

Gustavus Horn comming Post out of Bavaria; upon Monday being *Barnabee the brights day* June 11 arrived at *Frankford*: whence the next day hee went to *Mentz*, unto the Chancellor. Here they two first overlooking, and then new ordering the Armie; drew it out into the field presently. The *Spaniards*, then in possession of most of the best townes, in the Elector of *Triers* his countrie, (the *Chapter* and some of the people favouring them) perceiving by this time, that the *Swedes* were likely to come against them in favour of the *French*: and that the *French* themselves, under the Marshall *d'Estre*, *d'Effiat* (now dead) in 2. severall Bodies, were comming neerer every day, and neerer to them: they finde meanes, (by the favour aforesaid) to choppe a garrison, all on the sudden, into *Coblentz*. The situation of this towne, served their turne severall wayes.

The *Spaniards* thrust a garrison into *Coblentz*.

1. It commands the passage of the *Rhine*: on the Western bancke whereof it is seated; and there too, * where the river *Mosel* falls into it. 2. It became as ill as a Blockhouse, against the most strong Castle of *Ehrenbreitten* or *Hermanstein*; which is the Bishops Palace upon the other banck of the *Rhine*: into which he had lately admitted a *French* garrison. 3. It was a strong place of it self, and had a great command, over all that corner of the *Hautstruck*. This shewd-

* Of the meeting and confluence of these 2. rivers together, is *Coblentz*, in *Latine* called *Confluentia*.

ly

The private
agreement be-
twixt France
and Sweden,
concerning
Triers.

Horn advances
towards the
Electors of Tri-
ers country.

ly startled, both the *Electors* and his *Frenchmen*: who meant to have put themselves into it, but that the *Spaniards* had thus leapt into the saddle before them. This neighbourhood of these 2 great and emulous nations, (the breadth of the *Rhine* only being betwixt them) was the occasion of many a quarrell. The *French* author of *le soldat Suedois* complains, that the *Spanish* once, having taken some of his Countrey-men prisoners, upon promise of good quarter: cut their throats afterwards, in cold blood: It had bene privately agreed (it seemes) betwixt their Majesties of *France & Sweden*, that *France* should have the sole *Protection* (so was it yet called) of the *Electors* of *Triers* countrey: and that, if need were, the *Swedish* should helpe to beate the *Spanish* out of it. It appeares also by the storie, that *Gustavus Horn* had Commission from his master, for the same purpose: and that he now prepared to execute it. Hee had a good minde likewise, to get the *Dom-Herren* or Chapter of *Triers* into his clutches: but they being then at *Triers* towne, shifted themselves away into the neighbour countrey of *Lutzenburg*: so soone as ever they gat an inckling of his comming. *Horn* staid not long within *Mentz*: ere that the Armie advanced towards the *Mosel*. Marching all together in one *Grosse*, (or not very farre asunder) towards *Triers* citie and the country of *Lutzenburg*; the *Rhinegrave Otto Lodowick*, (the most of whose Army was already in the *Huntsruck*,) all on the sudden, with his part of the forces strikes down on the right hand, keeping the *Mosel* on their left: towards *Coblenz*. *Horns* division that came presently after, held on their march through the *Huntsruck*, towards *Trarbach*: whose army was now said to be some 8000 foot, and about 6000 horse, under 126 Comets.

June 17, the *Rhinegrave* first invested *Coblenz*: and (to omit the usuall advancing of all sieges) having gotten up a Batterie on the Lands side, the *French*, from over the water, out of *Hermanstein* castle, thunder also with their ordinance, into *Coblenz*. The *Spanish* within the towne, being
con-

conscious of the scantines of their ammunition; fall the third day to parlie with the *Rhinegrave*. The Elector of *Cullen* had in this meane time of the seige, sent in some Ambassadors from his castle of *Bonne*, up the *Rhine*; to perswade thus much with the *Spanish*: That in case they must needs render, they should rather article to deliver up unto the *French*, then unto the *Swedish*. But besides that the *Spanish* had in the time of this little neighbour-hood, contracted a greater spight or scorne, of the *French* then of the *Swedish*; neither would the *Rhinegrave* consent to that motion: because, that though hee well knew, that the towne was hereafter by Commission from the King of *Sweden*, to be turned over unto the *French*: yet should the *French* never say, that they had received it from those that lost it, but from those that wonne it: and not glory in it, as their owne conquest, but as the King of *Swedens* Resignation. The *Spaniards* could get no quarter at the *Rhinegraves* hands, till they had delivered him the *Elect*or of *Triers* his chiefe *Marshall*: whom, together with two great *Jewes* Merchants, they had before seased on. It had gone hard with the *Marshall*, perchance, if the *Rhinegrave* had not stood upon these termes for his deliverie: the *Spanish* were very angrie with his Master the *Elect*or, for thrusting them out of his countrey; and not trusting their Master of *Spaine* with his protection, as well as *France*: the one being as much a *Catholick* as the other. All conditions being agreed upon; Thursday June 21, being the 4 day of the siege, the *Spaniards* marcht out of *Coblentz*, with foldiers conditions every way; and were by the *Swedish* convoyed into a place of security.

The *Rhinegrave* besieges *Coblentz*.

and takes it.

The *Spanish* forsake *Triers* countrey.

This towne being taken, (which was the chiefe strength of all that countrie,) the weaker *Spanish* garrisons on the further (Eastern) side of the *Rhine*, in *Ober Laenstein*, *Nyder Laenstein*, *Engers*, *Mantenau*, *Hamersstein*, *Lanneck*, and *Montabaur*; voluntarily forsooke their old quarters; all retyring themselves quietly towards *Lutzenburg*. Three Regiments of the *Catholike-Leaguers*, which had by the

Ec

Count

Count of *Merode* beent newly levyed in the Electorate of *Triers*, and its neighbour countries of *Gulick-land*, and the land of *Marck*: were by this time upon their march, towards the reliefe of *Coblentz*. They were the Regiments of *Metternich* (Governor of *Heidleberg*) *Roelinger* and the Count of *Bronckhorst*; which were comming upon the service; but meeting, by the way, with those that had forsaken these townes; they presently convert their march towards the mountainous parts of *Alsatia*; where they first enquarter themselves in the townes of the *Strasburgers* jurisdiction: and pecece in presently afterwards, with *Ossa* and *Monte Cuculi*.

The feare of
the Elector &
Bishoprick of
Cullen, upon it

The *Electo*r of *Cullen* (brother to the Duke of *Bavaria*) upon the returne of his Ambassadors, being startled with this newnesse of the danger; he on Saturday June 23, ships away himselfe and *Treasure*, downe the *Rhine* unto *Cullen* citie: whither hee was followed by the most and chieftest of the *Spiritualitie*. His whole *Electorate* was in a bodilly feare also; for that the warres were, by this time, brought so neere them. Neere them indeed; *Bonne* it selfe, (the *Palace* and *Residence* of the *Electo*r) being not above 30 *Englisch* miles (by a line) from *Coblentz*; some of the *Bishoprick*, not a dozen: and that downe the *Rhine* streame also. The *Electo*r (as I finde written) presently sent away to en-vite *Pappenheim* to his succours; and entertained the Count of *Merode* with 7. Regiments of horse and foot, into his service. But *Pappenheim* being before engaged to the *Arch-duchesse* for the reliefe of *Maestricht*; could not now helpe him: and *Merode* expected every houre, to be by his *Generalissimo* the Duke of *Fridland*, commanded for other service. These uncertainties put the *Electo*r of *Cullen*, and his neighbour the Duke of *Newburg*, (in the same case, and feare with him) to bethinke themselves of those safer coun-tells; which wee shall presently tell you of.

Gustavus Horn
takes *Trarbach*,

Whilest the *Rhinegrave* is at the siege of *Coblentz*, *Gustavus Horn* with the other part of the *Armie*, was as busie about

about *Trarbach*: the most considerable towne upon the *Mosell*, on that side; and mid-way betwixt *Coblentz* and *Triers* city. The *Spaniards* were posselt of this towne also: but the place being not to be defended; they without much forcing forsake it, and retire into the strong Castle of *Grafenburg*, hard without the towne upon the *Mosell*. The *Spanish* having good store of all military provisions within the castle; maintaine the siege very resolutely: & *Horn* as fiercely layes about him. He had within 4 or 6 dayes, brought his Approaches close up to their castle moate; & had a day or two battered their hard wals, with 14 peeces of Canon. He had so soarely shaken a great Rundle or Tower of the castle, that he could within a few houres have made it faultable. Upon another side also, close by the water; had he a second Batterie: and there would hee within a day or 2 bee ready for a storming. The *Spanish* Governor perceiving all this; and that hee had hardly men enough to defend all his walls, in a generall assault; nor hope of being relieved, from other parts: he having done his part very well, on Munday July 2, hangs out his white streamer from the castle, to signifie his desire of a Parlie. Articles being the same night concluded upon, the *Spanish* march out the next Tuesday, being the 3, and were convoyed towards *Luxemburg*. This was a strong place; and of as much importance (almost) as the Castle of *Hermanstein*. Here did *Horn* finde so sufficient a store of victualls and ammunition; that had it beene as thoroughly manned, as victualled; hee could not in thrice that time have mastered it.

Besieges the
Castle of Gra-
fenburg,

In this meane time, had the Elector of *Triers* given a very friendly interview unto the *Rhinegrave*, about *Coblentz*: shewing good content towards him, for his clearing *Coblentz* of the *Spanish*.

So well was hee appayed with the *Swedish* usage of his subjects; that he sent presently into *Spiers* citie, and other places of both his Bishopricks, to publish the new agree-

The Elector of
Triers well con-
tented with
the *Swedish*.

ment, and confirmation of the *Neutralitie*, that he had contracted with the King of Sweden.

The Bishop of
Cullen obtains
a *Neutrality*,

To this towne of *Coblentz*, had the Elector of Cullen by the 16 or 18 of June, likewise sent his *Ambassadors*: and thither were the *Rex Chancellor Oxenstiern* come from *Mentz*, and *Gustavus Horn* for 2 or 3 dayes too, whilst his Armie was before *Grafenburg*. There did the Elector againe sollicite and obtaine his *Neutralitie*, both from the Kings of France and Sweden: the French Ambassador being also at the Treaty. The *Neutralitie* extended no farther, then to the Electors Bishoprick of Cullen upon the East side of the *Rhine*: but to his Bishoprick of *Paderborn*, and his lands in *Westphalia*, it extended not: for the Landgrave of *Hessen* had his garrisons then, in many of the townes of those parts. The *Neutralitie*, was also to bee confirmed by the 2 Kings; for whose seeing of the Articles, and returne of the *Exprefses*; there were 6 weekes, (2 moneths say some) allotted. Upon this agreement, was the Elector to casheire the Count of *Merode* and his Regiments, and not to give him passage through his countrey, unto *Ossa* and *Monte-Cuenlis* in *Alsacia*. This is the reason, that though *Merode* presently after this, received a command from *Walstein* to march into *Alsacia*, yet could hee not obey those directions; but was faine to passe the *Rhine* at *Keiserswert*, and conjoyne himselfe with *Pappenheim*, then going to *Maeßtricht*. The Duke of *Newburg* also, whose house and residence then was about *Dusseldorp* upon the *Rhine*, (next neighbour unto Cullen) he likewise solicited a *Neutralitie*: but what termes he obtained, I know not: this one thing is observed, That this Prince hath either beene not constant, or not fortunate, in his Treaties.

and the Duke
of Newburg
wreates for it.

Horn takes in
Bern castle and
Veldens.

Gustavus Horn being master now of *Trarbach* and of *Grafenburg*; seases, in the next place, upon *Bern Castle*, and *Veldens* towne: both upon the *Mosel* towards *Triers*, and within 5 or 6 *English* miles of *Trarbach*.

And thus the *Spanish* being on both sides of the *Mosel*,
and

and by the *Rhines* side, cleared out of the *Elector of Triers* country; even as farre as *Triers* citie: the *Elestor* contented; the townes which the *Swedes* had taken, delivered backe into his hands: and by him, consigned over to the *French*, (according to the King of *Swedens* agreement with the *French* King:) the *Elector of Cullen*, also, having sued out his *Neutralitie*, and discharged *Merode* of his service, and attendance upon the *Rhine* and *Mosel*: all these things being so quickly and so quietly dispatcht, about those parts, and the *French* then likely to be made strong enough, by the comming of the Marshall *d'Estre* and the Vicount *Arpaion*, to attack *Triers* citie: *Gustavus Horn* retires the Armie back againe unto *Mentz*. And all in good time. The Chancellor *Oxenstiern*, with 8000 of the forces, that had beene left about *Mentz*, and with some of the *Rhinegraves* Armie, now returned out of *Triers* country; was by the 11 of July marching up to the reliefe of the King of *Sweden* before *Norimberg*: so that there was some want of an Armie about *Mentz* and the *Palatinate*. Duke *Julius*, Administrator of the Duchie of *Wirtemberg*; had likewise sent word unto this our *Swedish* Felt-Marshal; of *Ossaes* and *Monte-Cuculier* being upon the wing upon the frontiers of *Alsasia*, *Wirtemberg* and the *Palatinate*: and of *Metternichs*, the Governor of *Heidlebergs* purpose, to take in *Wiseloch*: so that now it was high time for *Gustavus Horn* to have dispatched with the *Spanish*; & to look this way againe, towards the *Imperialists*.

Oxenstiern goes towards *Norimberg*.

True it is that the *Rhinegraves* Armie, after the taking of *Coblentz*, had beene sent backe towards the *Palatinate*: and had there recovered *Sintzheim* and *Bretten* both a little East of *Spier*, and South of *Heidleberg*, towards the land of *Wirtemberg*, and Marquifate of *Durlach*. Upon this neernesse of the *Swedish*; the *Imperiall* and *Bavarian* garrison, which the *Spanish* had left behinde them in *Spier* city; by the garrison voluntarily abandon it. Captaine *Omrust* with 250 men, was commanded to goe for *Heidleberg*: some companies of *Metternich*, with the new levyed forces of the citie; went

Spier forsaken by the garrison.

with Commissary *Elken*, to the Marquifate of *Baden*. They tooke 12 peeces of ordnance along with them, 100 double *Hakes*, one wagon laden with match, many barrells of Gunpowder, great store of Salt-peter, and all the Armor of the townfmen, that they could lay their hands on: so that the Burgers were faine to keepe their watch and ward at the ports and upon the tower, with battons, barres of iron, and fuch other wepōs. The Boors were fain to furnifh the departing fouldiers, with horfes for their wagons: many of which were returned them, by *Tom Long* the caryer. Three hundred *Swedish*, are upon this, thrust into it, & 4 troops of horfe.

That, now, wee may the better understand the warres of *Alfatia* and this part of the *Palatinate*: we fhall doe well to looke into the neighbour Dukedome of *Wirtemberg*, and *Circle of Schwaben*; from whence the Imperialists came into these quarters. Duke *Julius* * Administrator of *Wirtemberg*, having (as wee told you Page 173. of our *Second Part*) againe consented to the King of *Sweden*, according to the Conclufions of the *Diete of Leipsich*: and that agreement of his, having a little before that, been cōfented unto in a *Diet* of the States of *Wirtemberg* at *Stutgard*: the King gives him order to this purpose. 1. That the Imperiall townes of *Reutlingen* and *Efling* within that Duchie; (which is a part of the *Circle of Schwaben*) with the townes of *Salmenfchweil*, *Zwifalten*, and *S. Blas*, in the *Schwarzwalds*: with the Counties of *Baar* and *Zollern*: and (finally) the whole Country betwixt the towne of *Tubingen* and the frontiers of the *Switzers*, to the southward; fhould afford place of billeting, to the 2 Regiments of the Count *Crafft* of *Hohenloe*, to thole 2 of *Schavalitzki* and *Kanofski*, Colonells; and to the companies of *Cranckh*, Leiftenant Colonell.

2. That the appointed Treafurers and Commiffaries, fhould have monyes ready collected for the fouldiers pay, and neceffary provifions: upon affurance, that their Chieffes, and Commanders fhould bee bound, for the keeping the fouldier in good difcipline, and reftaining them from diforders and wrongs doing.

Upon

* His yong
cōn was not
yet come to
the govern-
ment: as Hee
fince is. Hee
yet was with
his mother at
Genova, to
keepe out of
the Emperors
reach: to
whom by a-
greement of
Duke *Julius*,
with *Furften-
berg*; they
were to have
beene com-
mitted for
education, as
Page 33. of
our *First Part*,
wee told you.

Upon the publishing of these orders, the levies went forward¹, and the 2. Imperiall cities aforementioned, were each charged with the billeting of 3. Companies. But they, fearing the unrulinesse of the soldiers, bought it out. All the other places of the country, came in with little adoe; declaring for the *Diets* of *Leipsich* and the King of *Sweden*, as *Generall Director of the warres*. The towne of *Elwang* only, (which is the chiefest of the Bishopricke of that name, in the Northern parts of the *Circle of Schwaben*) stood out against these orders. Some Imperialists had beene newly thrust in thither, and they signified their obedience to the *Swedish* and *Wirtembergs* Officers, with their pikes and muskets: whereupon some troops being sent for to enforce them, the *Elwangers* lost 4 or 500 men, and 2 of their greater Officers: being faine also to depart the citie. The rest of the Imperiall troopes in the lesser townes hereabouts, hearing of this defeat: betake themselves into the stronger towns, & especially into these about the *Bodensee* or the *Lake of Constantz*; on the Southwestern corner of the *Circle of Schwaben*, next to *Schwitzerland*. This corner a man may call one of the *backe doores to Germanie*: for that this and *Tirole*, are the great *Passes* and *Avenues*, to the *Succors* out of *Italie*. The *Commissarie Ossa* (a notable pragmaticall man) had with great judgement and diligence, taken order for the locking up of this back doore, and for keeping the key of it. And that was *Lindaw* especially: which standing in a little Ile in the lake of the *Bodensee*, he had taken good order, heretofore, both to provide and fortifie. The same service had hee done the Emperor, in the townes of *Constantz*, *Ratolsell*, *Vberlingen*, *Moerspurg*, *Buschern*, and *Bregantz*, all round about this lake; which is in length 44 or 45 miles *English*; and 12 in breadth, in some places. The same had hee done to *Zell*, *Wangen*, *Ravenspurg*, and divers others: which helpt much unto the securing, besides, of the Arch Duke *Leopolds* lands, and the Emperors second Sonnes lands, in *Alsatia*; which joyne upon the west of it. This that followes, was something

* He that had
beene Tillies
Enginier, to
take Magden-
burg.

things towards *Ossaes* order. The Regiment of Colonell **Farenbach* he billeted upon the Countie of *Rechberg*, the Lordship of *Weissensteg*, and the Tenants of the Abbess of *Buchan*. The Landgrave of *Stullingen*, (a Protestant, and chiefe of the familie of the *Pappenheims*, unckle to the soldier, and hereditarie Marshall of the Empire) hee and the Count of *Bultz*, were charged with the Regiment of *Balderon*. The Counties of *Furstenberg* and *Wurtzleb* and towne of *Memmingen*, were faine to entertaine the Count of *Ritbergs* Regiment: The Duke of *Savellis* Regiment was laid upon other Lordships. Other troopes were sent to *Kempten*, *Isnan*, and *Pfullendorff*. Some other Regiments were sent towards *Alsatia*; and some into *Zabern*, the place of residence for the Bishop of *Strasburg*. And for that there had beene divers companies of the *Catholick-leaguers* forces, billeted upon the hereditary lands of the house of *Austria*, and betwixt *Vlm* and *Ausburg*: *Ossa* required the Duke of *Bavaria* to remove them, that there might bee some Imperialists brought in place of them. This the Duke tooke regret at; rather contented to have such guests, as those, upon another mans lands, then in his owne country. As for the Emperors Tenants and Copie holders, they were warned to appeare at *Stockheim*; and either to take soldiers into their Country, or to buy it out with their readie money. All this had *Ossa* done, very substantially: by which he first of all made himselfe sure of those 3. principall townes of importance, *Zell*, *Lindau*, and *Constantz*: all which, he perswaded either to take in garrisons from him; or to raise some of their owne, for the Emperors service. *Zell* promised to raise 500. *Constantz* tooke in 100. Companies from him, and *Lindau* as many. And very well secured he, in the next place, the Bishopricks of *Moersburg*, and *Constantz*, with the Lordships of *Bregentz* and *Veldkirch*: and kept, lastly, the passages free from out the *Grisons*, and the *Switzers* Countries; as also out of the possessions of the Imperiall familie, on that side of *Alsatia*.

By

By this you know something of the state of that Circle of *Schwaben*: and what townes and enemies the King of Sweden and the Duke of *Wirttemberg*, had there to doe withall. The Duke had by the beginning of this year, increased his Armie to 8000. and had well begunne to put the Kings orders in execution. Beginning on that side of his Duchie, which was next unto the King; hee had by the 20 of June, taken in the Princely Abby of *Zwysalten*; with the towne and jurisdiction about it: with those other places that lie in that Southwestern frontier of *Wirttemberg* by the *Dannbe* side, towards *Bibrach*. Thus skimmes hee over some other of his Frontiers on the South, and towards the Westward: from divers of the weaker townes whereof, which were *Catholick*; hee drives out the Imperialists, and thrusts his owne and the Kings forces upon them.

The Duke of
Wirttemberg puts
into the field.

For all this that was done by the Duke of *Wirttemberg*, in his country; or by the *Swedes*, in the *Palatinate*: the Imperialists beganne againe to bustle very sturdily, in the neighbour *Alsacia*. The Commissarie and Generall *Ossa*, who about the 22 or 23 of May, had beene skared from *Bibrach* by the King of *Sweden*, (as Page 171. of our *Second Part*, wee have told you) was by this time comne through *Schwaben* by the way of *Weingarten*: where having (this second time) left the best order that he could, and 3000 Boores up in commotion; hee was now with some forces, conjoynd with the Count of *Monte-Cuculi* in *Alsacia*. So was the Marquesse *William of Baden* too; so that now they had an Armie in the field of 5 or 6000 men, whereof about 25 Cornets of Horsemen. The next good townes, of *Benselt*, *Schlesstat*, *Colmar*, *Brisach*, *Elzas-Zabern*, and others: were all indifferently well garrisoned, and at their devotion. The 3. Regiments of Count *Bronckhorst*, *Metternich*, and *Roellingen*; which should (as we told you) have relieved *Coblentz*: were long before this, comne through the County of *Lutzelburg*, and part of *Lorraine* into *Alsacia*; and kept a quarter, in the jurisdiction of the *Strasburgers*. These

Ossa, *Monte-Cuculi* and the Marquesse of *Baden*, rallie together in *Alsacia*.

were *Monte-Cuculis* friends too, and readie to joine with him upon occasion.

Upon confidence of this strength; *Ossa* (being Imperiall Commissarie,) sends a Trumpet unto the towne of *Strasburg*, to require entertainment & quarter for these troops, in the townes of their jurisdiction. *Strasburg* having before accorded with the King of *Sweden*, (as Page 174 of our *Second Part* we have told you,) refuses *Ossa* in his demands: who gives order, thereupon, to *Monte-Cuculi*, to seise on *Marlenheim*, *Barr*, and other townes of the jurisdiction: the subjects whereof they made to pay, for the refusall of their Masters. Having done their pleasure here, they with their whole Army aforesaid, passing with speed through the Lower Marquissate of *Baden*, (then in possession of their partner the Marquesse *William*:) they all on the sudden, in the end of July, overspread his cosins land, the Marquesse of *Durlach*: where they found more booty, then opposition.

who advancing
into *Durlach*,

Thence passe they onwards into the *Palatinate*; where they attack *Bretten*: a pretty towne of the *Palatines*, lately by the *Swedes* recovered from the *Spanish*: about 12 or 13. English miles to the East of *Vdenheim*. Here having broken open a Port with their *Petards*, they enter into the towne, and sacke it; burne the gates, dismante the walls, and enforce 200 *Germanes* (which the *Swedes* had lately left there in garrison) to follow their Enseignes. This shewes their mercie, or their need of soldiers; for that they gave so faire quarter to the *Swedish*. Nine of the principall *Burgers*, they tooke away with them: whom they meant to retaine with them, as *Capitall pledges*, for the good abearance of the residue.

take *Bretten*
in the *Palati-*
nate,

The Duke of
Wirttemberg
making to-
wards them;
they counter-
march to *Kni-*
ingen,

The *Administrator* of *Wirttemberg*, seeing' the danger now so neer him, (*Bretten* being within 4 English miles of his frontiers) knew there was no way to avoid the storme, but by making a hole in it. Drawing, thereupon 8000 armed men unto that side of the country, hee resolves to fall upon

upon the Imperialists. But this they prevented: for no sooner heard they of the Dukes comming; but forbearing to advance any further to the Northward into the *Palatinate*; they call off their troopes from that haunt, and hunt-counter with them. Back againe to *Knitlingen* they goe; 3 *English* miles from *Bretten*: where hearing, by this time, that the *Administrator* was not so neere them as they expected; they resolve to have a bout with this *Knitlingen*. Coverly, therefore, and out of ambush laid there in the night time, sending some of theirs to seise upon one of the city gates: they present their Armie before the walls, to second them. The Port being gained, the townsmen, and some countrey people gotten in thither for shelter; make towards the gate to regaine it. But there was *Monte-cuculi* too hard for them; and there they lost their towne to him, and betwixt 300 and 400 of their lives, into the bargain. Lost their towne, I say; for the goods of it being pillaged, fire was put to the 4 corners of it: so that now, a travailer can hardly finde *Knitlingen*; unlesse he rakes for it in the ruines.

Thence after a day or 2, for feare of the *Wirtembergers*; make they Westward some 10 or 12 miles, unto the *Rhine*-ward; putting themselves there, under the favour of the garrisons of *Germersheim* and of *Vdenheim*. Their chiefe Quarter thereabouts was at *Rhinshausen*, about 3 miles from *Spiers*, and 4 from *Vdenheim*. Here have they a new designe to recover *Spiers*: so that getting together all the *Ponts* and *Rhine-ships*, that they could lay their hands on; they trust to be in the night let in by their correspondents within, and so to reprise the city.

This, whilst in the beginning of August, they are about; they found the *Scene* to become more suddenlie varied, then they expected. For *Gustavus Horn* being returned unto *Mentz*, by the end of July; and having intelligence of their recovering of *Bretten*; and of *Mettermichs* besieging of *Wiseloch*; he by the 10 or 11 of August, had rallyed all the forces he could spare out of the *Electorate of Mentz*, and

and so to
Rhinshausen.

where they
have a designe
to recover
Spiers.

Gustavus Horn
advancing in-
to the *Palati-*
nate.

encamps a
while at *Man-
heim*.

the townes along the *Rhine*; and was resolved, now, to goe out in quest of these Imperialists. His Horse, hee first of all passeth over the *Rhine*, by the bridge of *Mentz*; putting them upon the Easterne side of the water, next unto the Imperialists. His Foot, advance along the other side, unto *Wormbs*; and are there passed over the *Rhine*, unto their Horsemen. The appointed *Rendez-vous*, was at *Manheim*: 12 English miles from *Spiers*, and 16 from *Wiseloch*. Under favour of this strong towne, and the *Neccars* meeting there with the *Rhine*; *Horn* for a while encampeth. His purpose in it was, that he might learne out by espyalls (now every where sent abroad) what was the state of the *Wirtemburgers* armie; the countenance of *Metternichs* before *Wiseloch*; and the posture of *Monte-Cuculi*. Of *Wirtemberg* hee heard, that he was readie to second him; and that hee lay, in the meane time, at his close-ward; keeping his eye still, upon the point of *Monte-Cuculi*.

The storie of
the siege of
Wiseloch.

Of *Wiseloch*, he learned thus much, that *Metternich*, Governour of *Heidleberg*, and *Lamulini*, (or *la Mulie*, as others write him) Governour of *Vdenheim* (as I take it) had put their strength together, to attack it. That Capitaine *Rosberg* having before hand beene sent thither about the 16 of July; had first summoned it, and then presented them his Canon. That upon the townes refusal to render, the 2 Governors aforesaid, had round begirt them with their garrisons; and ever since, continued to besiege them. That Colonel *Strasburger* had beene surpris'd nere unto *Heidleberg*; and slaine in his owne defence, by *Metternich*: who embaulming the dead Colonell, sent his body to the Governour of *Mentz*, to be redeemed with the exchange of some Imperial prisoners: sending him word withall, that money went hard with him; that his oile was deare, and that his men had taken a great deale of paines about him, That *Metternich* had lately received some small seconds, from *Monte-cuculli*; had fore pressed the besieged, and was already gotten so nere the walls, that they could heave in hand-Granadoes into the towne,

towne, and shoot in other artificiall wild fire.

Upon this newes, *Horn* marches to the reliefe of it: but *Metternich*, upon *Horns* comming, needed not be bidden goe; for that he the 15 of August, in all hast raised his siege, and made all speed possible to recover into *Heidleberg*. It so chanced, that some few howers before *Metternich* had received tydings of *Gustavus Horns* comming; he had dispatched a trusty Officer of his Army, (a Corporall) accompanied with 6. Horsemen, with letters unto *Ossa* and *Monte-Cuculi* to give them newes of *Horns* marching, and to desire this their last succours; with which hee beleevved, to take in the towne, before it could be releived. *Horn* came so suddenly upon *Metternich* at his rising: that the *Swedish* Vant-curriers had already surprised some of those laggis, that had not made so much hast as they should, into *Heidleberg*. Some out-riders of the *Swedes*, had light upon *Metternichs* Corporall likewise, as he was now comming home againe, from *Monte-Cuculi*. The letters found about him, discovered thus much: that the next day, (being the 16 of August) he would send some good troopes, to reenforce the siege of *Wiseloch*. A flying report, after the dispatch of the Corporall, was (I know not which way) brought unto the 2 Imperiall Generalls, that *Metternich* had already taken in *Wiseloch*, but was himselfe by the sudden comming of some *Swedish*, againe besieged in the place. This false report, caused them to send the very flower of their Cavallerie, to disengage *Metternich*.

Gustavus Horn having by the Corporals letters understood, that *Monte-Cuculi* the next day, would send some succours unto *Metternich*, (though this latter circumstance he understood not) resolved to prevent their ever comming to him. And whereas there was a place of Covert neere the High-ways syde, betwixt *Rhinehausen* (whence the Imperialists were to come) and *Wiseloch*: the shadines of that place did *Horn* make choise of, to dresse his ambush in; out of which he meant to fall upon the others, as they were by-passing.

Monte-Cuculi
sending 1000
Horse towards
Wiseloch:

they are way-
laid by Horn,

The next day came there a full thousand Horsemen along, of the very flower of the Imperiall Armie, lead by Colonel *Vitzthumb* (a Colonell of *Elsas Zabern*, as I take it) and the Colonell *Montbailon* : who had the Reere of them. Their owne strength, and the mis-intelligence of their enemies posture, whom they had thought to have surpris'd at the siege of *Wiseloch*, made them advance with so much the more speed, and security. *Horn* had so order'd it at first, that they should passe along by the place where his horse lay, unto the Post where his Foot were lodged; that so he might have gotten them into the middle of him. But perceiving, when they came something neere him, that they strooke short downe on the one side of him; and did not come so right forward, or so close to his ambuscado, as hee expected: he was faine to send out the *Rhinegrave* with a forlorne hope of Horse, to engage them to the encounter: whilst hee could bring up some stronger troopes to second him. The *Rhinegrave* was presently upon the Polls of them: for the Imperialists perceiving so few to come upon them, never doubled, or so much as mended their march for the matter. *Montbailon* (a gallant Cavalier, as it appeared) drawing out some Curiaffiers of *Harincourts*, for his seconds: now making a vertue of necessitie, leads on some of his owne Horse to confront the Squadron of the *Rhinegraves*. *Montbailon* falling on, Lay too't bravely, fellow soldiers, saies he: *Vitzthumb*, thereupon, bringing up the rest of the forces. The *Swedish* Felt-Marshall having made his game, as well as ever hee desired, (which was but to make them fight) brings on some Squadrons of Horse and Foot upon the front; and others, upon both the flanks, of the Imperialists. *Montbailon*, by this time, perceiving the cards to be pack't against him, would faine have flung up his game & have been gone towards *Mingelsheim*, to the East of *Wiseloch*. But the *Swedish* being dealt much the fairer; would not consent they should goe off so, without leaving their stakes behinde them. There was *Montbailon* shot dead with

with a *Carabine*, and *Treilly*, his Lieftenant-Colonell, fell at the same time by him. Diverse Rittmasters were there dismounted, and above 200 of the common souldiers, *Vitzthumb* scap't a scouring, by his good Horsemanship; and so did 6 or 700 others. The *Swedish* had the chase of them till they came to *Mingelsheim*, full 6 *English* miles from *Wiesloch*. Diverse of the fliers having runne their horses out of breath, were faine to light on foot, and runne into the woods to hide them: but a bush was not taile good enough, to hold them from being prisoners. Their Horses, Armes, and Buff-coats, were good spoile to these that tooke them: and so was their moneths meanes too, which they were by the *Law of Armes*, to pay for their ransomes. The prisoners confest, that these 1000 Horse, were the very pride of their Armie (almost halfe of them being Curiaffiers and men at Armes) and that the rest were not much to bee redoubted.

Ossa and *Monte Cuculi* having newes, by those that escaped, of this soare defeat; looked for no more courtesie, if they should there expect the *Swedes* comming: and thereupon they the very same day, leave their old quarters at *Oberhausen* and *Rhinehausen*, & hie them away towards *Vdenbeim*. The boats which they had before gotten together to surprise *Spier's* *wishall*, they were now enforced to convert to another purpose: to carrie, namely, their luggage towards *Vdenbeim*, and there, the selfe-same night and next morning, to waite themselves over the *Rhine* in them. The next day August 17 being Friday, comes *Gustavus Horn* unto *Rhinehausen*, in pursuite of his enemies: but there found he none, besides some sick and maimed men, who had not been able to follow after their fellowes. By them did *Horn* learne, how their 2 Generalls had passed over the *Rhine*: and the project they had for their many boats, to have taken *Spier's* citie. The Imperialists staid not upon the further side of the *Rhine*, neere the place where they had passed it: but hastning along to the Southward by the side of it, they got immediately

and defeated.

Monte Cuculi
if fleeing over
the *Rhine*;

and being
pursued to the
banks of it
by *Gustavus*
Horn;

they goe to sollicite *Hagenaw*, ately towards the faire citie of *Hagenaw* in *Alsacia*, about 10 *English* miles from *Strasburg*. This towne, they sollicite to their partie : but the townsmen liked better to stand upon their owne guard, then to undoe themselves, by the chargeable entertainment of such guardians. Now doe *Ossa* and *Monte-Cuculi* sollicite the 3. Regiments of *Bronckhorst*, *Metternich* and *Roellingen*, to come and joyne with them: which their owne safeties, made the other willing enough to consent unto. The Marquesse *William* of *Baden*, now puts his subjects to it, to doe their uttermost for their owne safeties : which was for them to take Armes, as many as could bee gotten to it. Now does the Commissary *Ossa* besirre himself, and so does the Count of *Salm*, who is Deane of *Strasburg* : to supply the good townes of *Bensfeld*, *Schlesstat*, *Colmar*, & the rest with garrisons, victualls & ammunition : all of them looking shortly to bee besieged. For these provisions were the villages of the *Strasburgers* harried.

joyne forces
with the 3.
other Regi-
ments,

and prepare
their townes,
to be besieged.

Nor did they faile of their expectations. For *Gustavus Horn* sending instantly to the Magistrates of *Strasburg*, to desire passage for his Armie over the *Rhine*, by their bridge: the ill usage of their subjects by *Monte-Cuculi*, and the danger themselves should perpetually be in, (nothing being now left them, but the walls of their owne citie :) became most prevailing arguments for the obtaining of the passage. Upon Tuesday, therefore, August 21, is the bridge freed for the *Swedish* Felt-Marshall; who with the *Rhinegrave* *Otto Lodowick*, with 6 Coaches, and 2 troopes of Horse in his attendance, came the same day into the beautifull towne of *Strasburg* : where he was received with the Towne-Oration, and such a present of Wine, Fish, and Oates : as is accustomedly made unto Princes and Ambassadors. The bridge demanded, is about an *English* mile without the towne of *Strasburg*, towards the *Palatinate*. It is about 3. quarters of an *English* mile long : the *Rhine* there entertaining some other riverets, and they together, making some overflowings, and continued pooles of water. The bridge is upon wooden

wooden Arches; no broader then the length of a long *Deale board*, which lie so loose and unsalted upon it, that the citizens have a saying of their bridge, that if a dogge runnes along upon the ends of the boards, he will be gibbeted, or tilted over into the water.

The *Swedish* Armie the next day comming after their General; had not beene very squeamish (that's none of a soldiers finnes) in taking what they found in the Marquisate of *Baden*, as they had passed through it. *Marquesse William*, had made himselfe an active man in these warres, and a furtherer of the demolishment of *Knitlingen*. Now therefore do his subjects pay for it: being made to redeeme their houses, from the fire, by a readie paying in of their Contributions. August 22, the *Swedish* Van of Horse, were passed over the bridge aforesaid; and so over the river *Ill*, into the enemye country of the *Vpper Alsatia*. This Vantgard consisted of 3000 Horse, and some few Regiments of Foot-men. In the *Rhinegraves* Regiment, were 12 Cornets; in Colonell *Iffers*, 5, *Zillars* had but 4, *Schavalitzki* had 10 there, himselfe in person being behinde. *Vrseler* had 3, besides some troops of Curiaffiers of the Generalls, and 2 Ensignes of Dragooners: in all, about some 36 or 37 Cornets. They drew 12 peeces of ordnance (besides field-peeces) along with them, and the chiefe of all the baggage and provisions for their whole Armie.

passes his
Vantgard o-
ver into the
Vpper Alsatia.

The rest of the Horse, were behinde with the grosse of the Foot; unto which, divers troopes of the *Wurtembergers*, under the leading of Colonell *Helmstat*, were by this time conjoynd. This Reere, (consisting of 6000 Foot, besides Horse) was brought up by Colonell *Christofer Haubald*, Governour of *Wormbs*, who as it appeares, was Major-Generall of the Foot unto his Excellence the Felt-Marshall, as the *Rhinegrave* was Leiftenant of the Horse. The Imperialists had no certaine Armie in the field, at that time: but dispersed themselves round about *Brisach*, *Schlesstat*, *Colmar*, *Obernheim*, and *Hagenaw*.

G g

Haubald

leaving *Hau-*
bald be inde
with the Foot,
to take in
Stolhoven.

Hauwald had commission from his Generall, to take in *Stolhoven*, by the way : an indifferent strong towne of Marquesse *William of Badens* ; upon the East ; and contrary side of the *Rhine* from *Strasburg* , and about 14 *English* miles from it. Summons being given and refused, the Approaches are begunne ; and the Batteries. *Hauwald* gave such free fire upon the towne, that not a man, scarcely, durst appeare upon the Bullwarke. The defendants having lost all their out works, and their breach being almost faultable : were said to have hung out a white flagge, in signe of parlee. Shooting being thereupon, given over , hostages sent into the towne to treat , and the *Swedish* before the walls upon confidence thereof, roaving up and downe too carelessly without their owne Covert, and within the command of the towne ordnance ; had a volley , all on the sudden , sent in amongst the thickest of them. There , were divers both killed and spoiled , and Colonell *Schavaliszi* had his horse shot under him. *Hauwald* perceiving this treacherie , sends to demand his hostages againe , and to bid them looké to themselves, for he would bee bobd with no more parlies from them. Commanding all his Batteries , therefore, to give them another generall *Salve* : the terror of that wrought such a repentance in the townsmaen , that they hang out their white flag againe , and send out their wives and children to begge mercie of the *Swedish*. This was against the minde of the Governor, *Iohn Philip Schawenburg* , (Sergeant Major Generall unto *Monte-Cuculi*) and those *Lorrainers* and *Italians* , that were of the garrison : hee , having beene before over-wrought by the inhabitants to the parlie, had beene againe provoked by the *Lorrainers* and *Italians* , to thunder out this second defiance : and now againe enforced by all this feminine importunitie, to condescend unto a finall yeelding. He, therefore, with those that had beene against surrendering, was kept prisoner, by *Hauwald* : the *Germane* soldiers finding good quarter , upon the usuall condition of taking entertainment with the conquerors. Here did
Hauwald

which service
Hauwald ha-
ving done,

Hanbald finde 4 great peeces of Canon, and 50 double Hakes as they call them. Small store of Ammunition, was there to be had: the great want of which necessaries, was the cause of the soone yeelding: though *Schavenburg*, like a brave enemie, made countenance to the contrary.

Stolhoven being in this manner taken in; *Hanbald* thence advances towards *Strasburg*: and there with 12 peeces of ordnance, besides fielding-peeces; passes the bridge over to his General: who had before this time, blockt up the strong towne of *Benfeld*.

Leaving both them, thus employed: turrie we aside, a little, unto their neighbour and Confederate, the *Administrator* of *Wirtemberg*, who is presently to come into these parts, and into our *Storie*. Hee, in the meane time, (that is, since *Ossa* and *Monte-Cuculi* had beene taken up with *Gustavus Horn*) had presently thereupon, withdrawne his Army from his frontiers next to *Breiten* and *Knittlingen*; where, we told you, hee had in the end of July and beginning of August, waited upon *Monte-Cuculi*. Thence goes the *Administrator* more inwardly into his owne countrey, to the Southward, and along the Westerne bancke of the river *Neckar*. There, towards the middle of August, takes he in *Rotenburg*, 6 English miles from *Tubingen*. A little after this, he recovers the good towne of *Horbe*, 10 miles up the same river, and same side of it. Both these, were on the neereſt frontiers (almost) of the *Dukedome*; next unto those parts, where *Horns* warres now lay; and by taking of them, was the midway betwixt both their forces, made the cleerer; and they the neerer together to conjoyne them. This done, and the *Administrator* having notice of the taking of *Stolhoven*, some few of his, being now sent (by order from the King of *Sweden*) to augment the garrison of *Ausburg*: hee sends the greater part of his Armie over the mountaines, through the rich and pleasant *Kintzcker thale* (commonly called the *Kintzinger dale*) which the river *Kintzck* both watereth and nameth. Some *Swedish* troopes

The actions
of *Wirtemberg*.

who having
taken in *Roten-
berg* and *Horbe*,

now comes
and besieges
Offenburg.

had beene left behinde, on that side the *Rhine*, about *Stalhaven*, to re-enforce these *Wirtembergers*: and their designe now was, upon the Imperiall city of *Offenburg*; upon the said river *Kintzkehi*; about 10 *English* miles from *Strasbourg*. This was the agreement betwixt the *Administrator* and the *Swedish* Felt-Marshal: to give action to the Imperialists, on both sides of the *Rhine*, at one instant; that they might not well know, which way next to turne them. But of this siege, presently; and in the order of time, that it ought to be.

Hanbald besieges
Obenheim;

which is yeelded
to him.

Wee left *Hanbald*, even now, passing over the *Rhine*-streame. That done, and hee advancing to the South-westward, by *S^t Arbogast* and *Nidernheim*: the Imperiall garrison of *Obernheim*, a little beyond *Bensfeld*, avoide out of it before his coming. But the townsmen taking themselves to be more interested in the keeping of their owne, then the mercenary soldiers: put on a resolution in their *State-house*, to defend themselves against the *Swedish*. But for all their bigge words, after they had beene once beaten in, upon a slight faillie which they made, to hinder the *Swedish* Approches, & that they heard the Canon bullets ratling a litle among the tiles of their houses: the good men suffered themselves to be perswaded by their wives and daughters, to make but a money matter of it, and to hearken to a parlie. The townsmen, thereupon, being used to driving of bargaines, more then to driving away their enemies; now bargain for their liberties: and 10000 *Dollars* they paid for it.

Whilest this is a doing, about the end of August, the *Wirtembergers* assisted by some *Swedish*, are at the siege of *Offenburg*. Summons being given; the citizens having first obtained a litle respite, to consider of it; seeme desirous to enter into a Parlie. This was but a trick of theirs, to gaine time withall: seeing they were assured to be relieved from *Monten-Cuculi*, if there were any port yet open, by which to receive the succours into their citie. The *Wirtembergers* thinking all their owne; were not so carefull, either to surround the citie, or to have their Sentinells and espialls abroad, as they

they ought to have beene : By this negligence of theirs, 300 Imperialists thrusting themselves into the citie ; the townsmen breake off their Parlie, and let sic their ordinance among the *Wirtembergers*. Here was Colonell *Ingermässer* slain ; with divers others of the *Wirtemberger* Officers. The besiegers finding the besieged to plie them hard with sallies ; to beate them out of their *Approaches*, and to fill up their *Lines*, by slinging in the earth againe : were faine, directly, to send for *Gustavus Horn* to come and helpe them. Thither came he in person, with some re-enforcements. By his strength, and skill, and diligence; the lines in 4 or 5 daies were perfected, Batteries, and wide breaches made ; and ladders gotten readie, for the *Scalado*. The garrison and citizens perceiving this; they, to beginne the moneth, and end the weeke withall, Saturday September the first (old Style) sent out to treat the conditions of surrendring. They are granted upon indifferent termes unto the garrison : wherenpon the next day, September the 2, 300 soldiers on foot, and 120 on horseback, march forth freely out of the towne, to him that sent them. *Monday* and *Tuesday* were the dayes appointed for the treating with the townsmen : who for having dealt so treacherously with the *Wirtembergers*, were compelled, first, to redeeme themselves with 30000 Dollars : & 2, to prevent their correspondence with the Imperialists, was there a garrison of 500 men put upon them. 3. Their suburbs which themselves had partly burnt downe, and partly beaten downe, for the fortifying of their towne; were they made promise, not to build up againe, for ever. 4. They were to take an oath of homage to become hereditarie subjects unto the Crowne of *Sweden*. 5. And lastly, to bee forbidden meddling with any Armes, for ever. Here was found an excellently well furnished Magazine ; both for victualls, Gunis, and ammunition : which well helpe *Gustavus Horn* to beate all the rest of the country. Whilst these conditions are attreating, the Armie had given summons to the strong & well provided Castle of *Or-*

The *Wirtember-*
gers besieging
Ossinburg;

Are faine to
send for *Gusta-*
vas Horn to
helpe them :

By whom the
towne is ta-
ken.

Osttenburg Ca.
sle surren-
dred.

tenburg, the chiefe strength of the *Kintzinger-dale* aforesaid, which (to bee brieft) was faine to follow the example of its predecessors, and to resigne up it selfe on Wednesday the 5. of September.

Ossa and Monte-
Cuculi, avoide
the countrie,

By the taking of these 2 most important places, was the towne of *Brisach* quite foundered : which though full 10 *English* miles, from this *Offenburg*, yet it being upon the same side of the *Rhine* with it, there was never a considerable strength betweene , to shelter it. Hereabouts, had *Monte-Cuculi* all this while laine : as if to give ayme to the losing of the Countrey. The *Swedish* Army now making that way, both hee and the Commissary *Ossa*, (not able to abide their comming) are faine to depart the Countrey. *Ossa* (as I finde) went first of all towards *Nancy* in *Lorraine*, or else to *Bisanson* in *Burgundy*, to leave his Lady there, in a place of securitie : presently returning over the *Rhine* again, into *Schwabland*. *Monte-Cuculi* resigning his Generallship, in those parts, unto Marquesse *William* of *Baden*, adventures with some troopes of Horse, especially, to brush through the Easterne skirts of the Duchie of *Wurtemberg*, and so to *Kempton* in the very edge of *Schwabland*, and to get that way into *Bavaria*. Thereabouts (as I finde) had *Sir Patrick Ruthven* a blow at him : being said to kill him 300 men, and to take 150 prisoners. Thus, with much adoe, gets he over the *Lech* about *Schonga* and *Fuessen* : and in *Bavaria* you have before heard of him, in the *Kings storie*.

The Earldom
of *Furstenburg*,
taken.

The coast (for the time) being thus cleared of the Imperialists ; there was not a foe, in the field to make opposition against the *Swedish* or the *Wirtembergers*. Hereupon, is the faire *Kintzinger-dale* brought under *Swedish* contribution : & in it, the inheritance of *Eggon* Count of *Furstenburg*, who, as in our *First Part* we have often told you, was sometimes the Emperors great Generall, in this *Circle* of *Suevia*. How he had resigned his Generallship, & retired into a privacie ; you may see Page 119, and 220, of our *Second Part*. In what estate, the countrie & himselfe were now in ; tis best know-
ing

ing out of his owne Letters, written unto *James Hannibal*, Count of *Ems*: which were by the way intercepted.

MY LORD:

I Yesterday received a Letter from the Marquesse *William* of *Baden*: and the sad newes in it, of the falling of the *Marshall Horn* with 10000 men, into his Marquifate. That also hee had required 300000 Florens from him, in present payment; & a place of *Rendez-vous*, for 4 fresh Regiments. I am very sorrie to see him made a beggar as I my selfe am; though otherwise, there be no comparifon betwixt us: he having received at the Emperors hands so brave and good a countrey, as is his Maruqifate; whilst I, for mine owne part, have neither master nor money. Thus am not I able to help him; nor he me; nor you either of us. I had before spent almost all I had, in these warres; and now am I utterly ruined of the residue. And thus much could I not but give you part of, that you might helpe to condole with us.

Furstenbergs
letter, and
complaint.

Heyligenburg Septemb. 8. 1632

Your Lops. true friend and servant *Eggon*
Count of *Furstenburg*,

The style of this Lord *Eggon*, is Count of *Furstenberg*, *Heiligenberg*, and *Werdenberg*; *Landsgrave* of *Bare*, Lord of *Hausen* and the *Kintzinger-dale*, he is also a Canon of the Churches of *Cullen* and *Straßburg*, and Provost of *S. Gereons* in *Cullen*. But of these Revenues, his towne of *Furstenberg*, and the sayre *Kintzinger-dale*, are lost: his Lordship of *Bare* in *Alsacia* plundered by the Imperiall souldiers that Quartered in it: *Werdenberg* is but a Title: So that you see he had cause enough to complaine of being undone: having onely his house at *Heiligenberg* left; and his three Church dignities. Thus is the spoiler spoiled, and the Emperors Generall left unto the mercie of his enemies. So well hath the Count of *Furstenbergs* service beene rewarded, since the Battell of *Leipsich*.

This

The advantage of these Conquests.

The Archduke Leopold dyes,

and the Emperor is sick of a Quartan.

His conquest, was felt as farre as the Count of *Hannover-Lichtenbergs* possessions: all the Lords and Gentlemen on that side the *Rhine*, being likewise made sensible of it. The *Kintzinger-dale* was againe opened for the *Straßburgers*; and the way quite cut off from the Imperialists, that no succours could passe from *Schwabland* or *Italic*. By this conquest, was all cleere againe from *Straßburg* unto *Kintzingen* in *Franconia*, to the North-Eastward: to *Rorweil* upon the *Neckar* in *Schwabland*, to the South-Eastward: on the 3 side, unto *Vdenheim* in the *Palatinate*, and on the 4 side quite through the *Hercurian* Forrest or the *Swartz-wald* into *Bavaria*. All this, was by these conquests, put into the power of the King of *Sweden*. Some say, that the griefe of this newes, added some speeding malignity, unto the Archduke *Leopolds* infirmities: which Prince, now lying for his pleasure at *Swatz* in *Tirole*, was unexpectedly (and after much hunting) taken with a *Catarrhe* in his head, which fell downe and put one of his eyes out: which being followed with a fluxe, and a continuall fever; in few dayes made an end of him. He dyed September 13, at which time, his Imperiall Majesty, likewise, was most unprincipely haddled, by an unmannerly & rebellious *Quartan* ague. The Archduke dyed in an ill time: seeing, at this instant, his owne Estates, laid open to the prey: his familie, all embroyled; his Allies, much adoe to subsist; his faire hopes, blasted; his great designs, returned upon himselfe; his enemies, beginning apace to be many; and his friends, few; his neighbours not much to bee relyed on; for that, they beganne to recall the bad remembrances, of ancient and forepassed jealousies and mis-intelligences. In this ill time, dyed the Archduke: who had he lived but 2 moneths longer, would well have cheered up himselfe, with the death of the King of *Sweden*. Presently after the death of this *Leopold*, his Counsellors take care for the ensuring of the passages of his countrey of *Tirole*: and confirme Marquesse *William* in his Generallship,

ship, against *Gustavus Horn*: helping to make him up an Armie of 4000 men, with which hee kept himselfe about *Ensisheim*.

To retume to our *Swedish* Felt-Marshal. The countrey on that side of the *Rhine* being thus ranged into order; the selfesame Wednesday night, that *Ortenburg* Castle was taken upon, did *Gustavus Horn* with certaine of his troopes, both Horse and Foot, passe *Strasburg* bridge againe: himselfe lodging the same night within the citie. His forces went to their old quarters againe, beyond the river *Ill*: whither a little after that, the rest of his Armie followed. The *Wirttembergers* returned into their owne Countrie, first; and so towards the *Bodensee*, and that to divert the Imperialists from disturbing *Horn* at his siege of *Benfeld*, as by and by wee shall tell you. On Thursday, September 6. did Count *Henry* of *Nassau Dillingberg*, come and joyne his Regiment, unto the *Swedish* Armie. Friday, the 7. of September, being the Anniversarie day of the famous victorie of *Leipsich*, was a day of devotion both in the Camp and citie: to the celebrating whereof, the Lord-Marshal was himselfe gone into his leaguer. There were *Prayers* added unto the *Thanksgiving*, for the prospering of the designe intended, and that was the siege of *Benfeld*: which by an Ex-
 pressing, the same evening his Excellencie certified the *Strasburgers* of: and that he would the next morning, put himselfe upon his march, thitherward.

Horn retournes to Strasburg.

going thence, to the siege of *Benfeld*.

The place, is in the lower *Alsatia*, which there beginneth on the *Western* bancke of the river *Ill*: which having run 12 or 14 *English* miles further, through *Strasburg*, drops presently into the *Rhine*. East of the towne, (which is but a very small one) is the river. The place of the towne, is by a morasse: the river there, branching out, into at least 20 small Ilets. Before it, is there a hillie and a woodie countrey. The Citie of *Strasburg*, had some pretences to it; unto which, it now was a troublesome neighbour: that, holding for Prince *Rodolphe William* Bishop of *Strasburg*, second

The towne described.

sonne unto his Imperiall Majestie. Tis a Royall Fortification and a Regular : in forme of a spurre or Mullet, 5 cornered. The walls; strongly beset with towers and rundells : the Bullwarks, thick and high : with two wett ditches about them ; and on the East side, a litle Suburb, washed by the river. All this, was very strongly pallisadoed, with some outworks to it.

The Rhinegrave
is of this Fa-
mily of Salm.

A worck it was said to be, of well neere 20 yeares Fortification Count *Herman Adolph* Count of *Salm Rifferschet*, Statholder or Governour of the Bishoprike of *Straßburg* (in which *Benselt* standeth) and Deane of the same *Straßburg* : had excellently well provided it, of victualls and ammunition : some peeces of full Canon, had they upon their Bullwarcks ; which shot 48 pound bullet. Their garrison, was about 800 Foot, and 140 horse : some of their Foot, being sturdie Boores, which there learned to bee soldiers. Their Governor was one Colonell *Bulach*, a discreet Gentleman, and a very resolute Commander.

The siege laid.

Saturday September the eight, did his Excellencie *Gustavus Horn* advance thitherward. That very night, did his vanguard take in some Mills, with the Hospitall or Cloister on the North side of the river (which betwixt that and the towne, had many great Ilets and branches) cutting off, and beating in, some of these townsmen, that had undertaken the guard of them. Munday September the tenth, beganne *Horn* to plant his Ordnance, which I heare to bee 3 whole Canons, 4 halfe Canons, 12 fielding pieces, and 4 mortars. And now was he engaged upon a hard peece of service, and all eyes were fixt upon the issue of it. *Horns* head Quarter, was upon the westerne bancke of the river, and North side of the towne : and on that side he beganne his Approaches. His trenches went round from North to South. The defendants (twas knowne) were resolved to dispute it, and the *Swedes* had here pitcht themselves upon their hopes, for the command of the whole Bishopricke of *Straßburg*, and for the Lordship of all the neighbour *Alsatia*. The *Straßburgers* were

were deeply interess'd in the successe of the Action; for besides that *Benselt* was the great hinderer of their traffick; they, by their giving passage unto *Gustavus Horn*, had committed such an act of enmitie against the Emperor, as they must now doe like a sick man; not take so weake a *Dos* of *Physicke*, as should be but able to stir the humors; but a potion strong enough to expell them. If *Horn* prevailed not before *Benselt*, the weight of the warres would, certainly, fall heavie on their side. *Horn*, therefore, knew well enough, that all their Magazines and their Armories, were at his devotion. Thus was he backt.

Ossa, and the Count of *Salm*, then resident in *Zabern* (a good soldier) with *Meiternich* of *Heidleberg*; had all engaged their words, that *Bulach* should be relieved: and to cut out *Horn* so much worke, otherwhere, by their diversions; that he should never be able to lie long before *Benselt*. And thus was the towne backt: so that it was a siege of the greatest expectation (though not of so much noise) next unto that of *Maastricht*; that hath beene in these latter troubles. The quiet of the *Palatinate*, the securitie and profit of the *Strasburgers*, and the Conquest of *Alsatia*; much depended upon *Benselt*. The importance of the place.

By September the twelfth, were the *Swedish* masters of the *Toll-Sconce* on the East side of the town, a good distance from it, and upon the third branch of the river. This sconce had the command of the Bridges over the river *Ill*: and over the Causeway which led thence into the Suburb. By the taking of this, was the river it selfe also at their devotion. By the thirteenth, were they Approached within 30 Rodd of the outtermost *Graff*: and under the command of the enemies Canon. *Horns* lines first brake ground, midway betwixt his owne Head quarter and the towne: which he led cranking in and out, gaining still neerer and neerer upon the towne. They were runne sloping along the north side of the town and so ended right against a Bullwarke, on the very West of it. All along this Trench, were his Batteries, *Blinds*, *Tra-*

verses: and *Redoubts* to watch, and save the Approaches, and out of this, was begonne another lesser line, from a great batterie.

This lesser and neerer *Approach*, was runne all along the Northwesteme side of the towne, in a halfe Circle, just as the towne ditch directed it: of which it was within a few paces. At the westerly end of this lesser *Approach*, was the Ditch cut and drained: and there was the *Gallerie* led over: of which we shall in its time, tell you. *Horn* beginning his *Approaches*, hath his Pyoners beaten out, now and then, by the townsmens sallies, who flung the earth in again into the Trenches. And this was done often, for, certainly the place was very well defended. Ever as *Horn* brought his *Lines* neerer, hee also brought forward his Batteries. *Strasbourg* sent him supplies of Canon, Granadoes, Fire-works, and Ammunition, (and victuals too) as much as he desired: so that hee was nothing sparing of his lead nor gunpowder. The most of those buildings which a Canonier could have but a cleere view of, from off his Batterie, he beate about the townsmens eares: steeples, towers and rundells, as well as houses. For the furie of the great and small shott, and the terror of the Fire-works (which had twice already, set fire upon some Courts of Guard, Centry-houses and stables, next unto the rampiers:) was no man (without extreame hazzard) able to appeare upon the Bullwark: so that though the towne kept some peeces of Canon yet undismounted upon their wall, yet hardly durst a Canonier tarry by them, unlesse when the rampier were to bee assaulted. A triall of this, was made September 13, when as 30 *Swedish* Horsemen made a dare, close up to the very brinck of the outtermoost moate, and came off againe without danger.

Horn by the middle of the moneth, having gotten forward, as far as the outtermoost wet-moate, had a designe for the cutting of that, and to derive the water out of it into the river. To hinder that, doe the besieged issue through a sally-

sally-port, and resolutely beate off the Boores that were *Horns* spade men, and the soldiers that defended them. Yet was that service by degrees performed, and so much of the water drained out, as lay higher then the river. The rest was partly filled up, where needfull: for that *Horn* being now gotten to the suburb (which the townsmen partly had demolished, and *Horns* Fireworkes consumed) made use of the rubbish for filling up the moate, & of the timberwork, for the making and briaing over his *Gallerie*. September 26 in the night, was the *Gallerie* begunne to be put over the moate: upon which, though the besieged sallyed, yet were they perswaded in againe, & the *Gallerie* after a while perfected. These militarie *Galleries*, are in the manner of Bridges: made upon Piles fastned into the ground & joyfes laid crosse over them and plancks over all, like a *Bridgework*. Now were his men lodged in this slighted suburb, which was some shelter to them: and hence, was every *Orlope* or peeping hole of the wall so flankerd with their Firelocks, that hardly could a head appeare out of the towne, or over a work, but he was dast in the teeth with a bullet. *Horns* next worke, was to make up a great *Blynd*, for the shelter of his Enginiers and labourers: who were now working towards the second *Grasse*, close under the Bullwarke. September 29, did the *Straßburgers* furnish him with 4 more Canon, for a new Batterie upon his Approaches: so that under the favour of these volleyes, did hee in a short time in crooked *Lines*, advance as farre as that second *Grasse*: the bancks whereof they now fall to cutting. Doe the *Benselders* what they can, by their sallyes: yet, they within a few dayes, lost halfe the water out of that moate too: the *Swedes* were well forward with their second *Gallerie*, and lodged on another side within a few paces of their Foretowne. This was the worke of the first moneth: by which time the *Swedes* were become Masters of the River, the *Tolskonne*, the Bridge, both the Moats, the Suburbs, and finally of all without the walls and ports of the very citie.

The first moate wonne.

The second moate wonne.

Hh 3

Munday

Divers assaults
repulsed.

Munday October the eight, the *Swedes* thinking to make a short worcke of it: offered a furious assault upon the *Forticite*: but being not able to carrie it by *Scaladoe*, they were faine, with some losse, to give it over. And yet this attempt was once or twice renewed in the weeke following: and the besieged kept waking by the expectation of an *Alarme*, every day. The Saturday after, being the thirteenth of October, the besieged, towards evening, desired a parlee, that they might have a truce granted for a few dayes; requesting a safe-conduct for their *Drumme*, to be sent unto the *Generall*. Hee not liking the propositions; no sooner was the *Drumme* received into the towne againe: but he commanded a rousing volley to bee sent in after him: to signifie unto the besieged, that no other cessation of Armes was to be expected; but till his *Canoniers* could lade their peeces againe, when they had discharged them.

The besieged
desire a truce
which is denied them.

The Count of *Salm* that was Governour for the Emperors sonne, of his *Bishoprick* of *Straßburg*, to which this *Benselt* belongeth; wrote his letters unto the *French* Ambassador at *Straßburg*, to request his mediation for a truce for *Benselt*. The colour for his request was, that the truce might last till the *French Kings* pleasure might bee knowne, upon what termes hee would take the *Bishoprike* into his protection. But neither would this be granted: and the denyall was sent to *Zabern*, 9 or 10 miles from *Straßburg*, where *Salm* resided.

The *Rhinegrave* blocks
up *Schlesstat*.

Presently after the leaguer was first laid, and the *Quarters* entrenched: had the *Rhinegrave* beene sent out with the most of the Horse, to block up *Schlesstat*; a very strong towne upon the same river of *Ill*, some 8 or 9 *English* miles to the Southwest of *Benselt*. His Partees flew up and down the countrey, to spoile the *Imperialists* mustering places; to observe the motions of the enemy: and to prevent their sudden disturbing of the leaguer. Hee had sent word, a little before this, unto the *Felt-Marshall*; of the Count of *Salm* assembling of some good forces together, on that side the Country

Countrey : and that they had given it out, how they would shortly give the *Swedish* a *Camisado* in their owne trenches : being very confident of beating up a quarter, and of thrusting in some supplies into the besieged. *Horn* upon newes hereof, had sent into the *Palatinate* and to the *Straßburgers*; that they should lighten their garrisons (as many as they could spare) & send the forces to his leaguer, with all speed possible. Upon this, did the Count of *Salms*, and the Colonel *Smidberger* come into the Camp, with their Regiments.

Munday October 15, towards evening; Count *Salm* first shewed himselfe, within a little of the Trenches : with some 4000 Boores, 2000 souldiers, and 600 Horſe, in his Armie. Whilest *Horn* sent out some good troopes to entertaine and stave them off; the besieged fall also out, upon a worke of the *Swedish*. But the Count of *Salms* Boores, plainly, came not on with that bravery that soldiers would have done, nor did they once touch upon any one of *Horns* Quarters : so that the besieged perceiving their Aides to presse no neerer, they fall off againe, and withdraw themselves into their Citie. *Salms* his men also, after some lighter skirmishes, retire themselves into the Dorps towards *Schletstat*; on which next morning they set fire at parting. That day, out went the *Rhinegrave Otto Lodowick*, with a Partee of 500 Dragooners, 500 Horſe, and 1000 commanded muskettiers; to trie what metall they were made of. Hee lighting on them by the flame and smoake, which they made in the Countrey; kills 300 of them as they were scattered up and downe, and takes about 150 prisoners : whereupon the most of the rest retired unto *Molsheim* on the river *Brusch*, 10 miles North of *Benfelt* : which was the appointed Rendez-vous for them.

The defeate of these succors, and the hopes of them: made is put by. his Excellencies and the *Rhinegraves* *Healts*, to be heartily remembred at *Straßburg*; for that now they esteemed *Benfelt* as good as taken. But the Count of *Salm* said not so: for

An offer to
relieve the
town.

The King of
Bohemia comes
to Frankfort.

for he still gave it out, that he but recoild to come on againe with more furie, & that the next time he would bring 10000 men with him: yea, that hee would either leave his bones before *Benselt*, or relieve it. The garrisons of *Heidleberg*, *Frankendale* and *Vdenheim*, twas given out, should make diversions: but that threat was quickly taken off, by the comming of the King of *Bohemia* unto *Frankford*: who though hee levyed no forces, yet did hee much amuse the neighbourhood, with the beliefe of his purpose to doe so. As for those of *Frankendale*, the *Benselders* hopes of their aide was defeated, by his Majestie of *Bohemiaes* entring into a Treatie with them. For all this, the Count of *Salm* divulged it, that all the Imperiall garrisons of *Brisach*, *Kenzingen*, *Endingen*, *Molsheim*, *Darchstein*, *Schirmeck*, *Schletstat* & *Colmar*, even all the power they could make, they would rallie together into one Armie, and put it to such a push, as either to hazzard all their townes, or relieve *Benselt*. These hopes found he meanes to convey into the town; which *Eulach* had art enough by great circumstances to make probable: and upon hope of that, to keepe his men in courage & expectation. The Count of *Salm* indeed, after this, shewed himselfe in the field now and then, but could never bring his 10000 men together: Commissary *Ossa* had now need of men about the Lake of *Constantz*, so that he could spare him no forces to succor *Benselt*.

The Wirtem-
bergers take
townes about
the Lake of
Constantz.

This was *Ossa* put unto, by the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, who had purposely made this diversion upon those parts, that *Horn* might have the lesse disturbance before *Benselt*. There had the *Wirtembergers* gotten the townsmen of *Cell*, to take in a garrison from them: which they had before denied unto *Ossa*. This was a towne of very great importance, *Richenau* Abby upon the Lake, they had by force taken, for they were 10000 men, now in the field: and *Lindau* and *Bregentz* both, were sorely afraid of them.

Neerer home, did the *Rhinegraves* troopes skowre the coast up and downe, daily: making their *Cavalcadoes* sometimes

times to the very gates of *Zabern* it selfe, one way; and otherwaife, as farre along the *Rhines* side as *Erisach*; there affronting the Imperiall Quarters: who before *Brisach* had a few forces. Those of *Erisach* againe, would now and then put into the field: The Count of *Salm*, also, would send out some Partees; but the *Rhinegrave* put so betweene them, and so spoiled their Mustering places: that they could never bring their Armie together, according as they had promised.

The besieged, by this time, wanting forage for their horses; they about October 20, turne 100 horses out of their port among the *Swedish*: and even yet they held it out resolutely. Their hope now was, that the raines at this time of the yeare, would fill the Ditches & Mines up againe, which *Horn* was now a working: but that hope failed them. His Galleries being now perfected; he a few dayes after, causes the enemies walls to be attempted; if but to see what countenance the besieged still carryed. But those hee found so good, that his men were beaten off againe: one of his soldiers onely having snatcht down an Ensigne from the Rampier, in despite of all the small shot of the defendants, purposely aimed upon him. By this time, was *Gustavus Horns* Armie more increased, then when hee first late downe before *Bensfeld*: and that especially and of late, by the coming of *Battalie* a French Colonell, with 600 men: which he hoped to make up a Regiment compleat, out of those forces which his King had a little before casheired in *Lorraine*.

The state & hopes of the besieged.

They beat off an assault.

By the 25, had *Horn* sappt himselfe, close unto the Rampier: and by the 26, (notwithstanding all Countermining) had hee brought his mine under it; put in his powder, and made it readie to play. The 27, he prepared all things ready to storme into the Breach, which upon the springing of the mine he infallibly expected. That morning, did Governor *Bulach* send out a Trúpet with open letters in his hand; which he desired leave of the Felt-Marshall to carrie to the

The last assault.

Governor of the Bishopricke of *Straßburg*, then at *Zabern*: to discover the weake estate of the towne to him, and to desire him to propound the conditions for his rendring: requesting a 3 dayes truce in the meane time, till the returne of the messenger. But this meslage was by *Gustavus Horn*, controlled; and the Trumpet sent backe againe. Towards night, doe the *Swedish* resolve upon the firing of their mine: which the besieged perceiving, resolutely fall out upon it, and fight with them at the mines mouth, all that afternoone, the whole night following, and the next day till 2 a clock after dinner. *Horn* continually relieved his men, with new seconds: yea his Dragoons and Horsemen too, were on foot brought on, still to pursue the storming. His men were very earnest with him, that he would accept of no composition; but that they might have leave to take it by force; and that their reward for all their hardship before it, might bee the pillage of it.

Benselt yielded,

But *Bulach* having both done and suffered, as much as might bee expected from a man in his place; perceiving his men to bee sorely harassed and over-watched; his enemies forces encreased; they backed by *Straßburg*; and himselfe not likely to bee relieved from *Zabern*; that the mine was ready to spring, and the besieged hasty to fall into the first breach: is contented that some of his people had alreadye hanged out a white Ensigne, in signe of parlie; himselfe sending out to require hostages. This was done in the afternoone of *Simon and Judes* day, October 28: whereupon the next day, both parties agreed upon these thirteene conditions.

and the conditions.

1. That the Governour, with all the Captaines, Officers, and common soldiers, should depart freely: going out with Colours flying, drummes beating, matches lighted, bullets in the mouth, and with full Armes. And that they should carry all their families with them, with horses and wagons sufficient, for the carrying away of their baggage; that they should have 2 field peeces, and one wagons loading of powder,

der, bulletts and matches. That the Governor, moreover, should with his wife, children, cosins, sisters, and servants with their baggage, be convoyed into *Zabern*; and the other Captaines and soldiers, to *Brisach*: pledges being given on both sides, according to the custome.

2. That the *Ecclesiasticks* and *Religious* persons, and especially those that lived in *Achle*; should have free exercise of religion, as heretofore they have had: and leave to maintaine themselves upon *Almes*; and as for those that were resolved to go otherwhere, they should have free leave to go: together with their goods and souldiers for the guard of them.

3. That the Citizens also should have free exercise of the *Romane Catholick* Religion.

4. Those that were Officers of the Bishoprick, should have leave of departing, likewise, with their goods and families: 2 wagons with their horses, being allowed them: they first of all delivering unto certaine deputies appointed in the King of *Swedens* name; their *Coucher-books* & other *Records* concerning the estate of the Bishoprick: together with a true account of all things hitherto deposited.

5. The sick and wounded, which were not now able to march out with the rest; should have leave to tarry in the towne, till they were recovered: after which, they should have *Passes*, to goe whither they desired.

6. That the Governor, Captaines, Officers, Soldiers and Citizens, that had any lands within the Bishoprick; should have libertie among the rest who had yeilded themselves into the King of *Swedens* protection: either to inhabite and make the best of them, or to sell them, as they pleased.

7. That the Governor, now presently after the rendring, should have a *Passé* from *Gustavus Horn*; for the sending of an Officer with his letters, unto the Governor Generall of the Bishoprick, to certifie him of the proceedings.

8. That none of the priviledges, freedoms, jurisdictions,

2^d Rights of City or Citizens; should be diminished; nor should any ransomes bee exacted of them: but that they should have a protection rather, against any injurie that might bee done by the garrison, which was to be put upon them: and that right and justice might indifferently be administred to every man.

9. That all and singular the Citizens now within the towne, should have leave either to sell their goods presently, or within a certaine time, when they could: after which they might freely depart, and take Passes to that purpose.

10. That the Citizens having houses either in the towne or Countrey, should have leave to till their lands; and enjoy their stocks, horses, cattell, and other goods serving to that purpose, without ransome.

11. That the prisoners on both sides, should bee set free without ransome.

12. That all militarie ammunition, victualls, and other things, not particularly belonging unto the Governor, Officers, Soldiers, nor Citizens; should without fraud be delivered unto such persons, as should be appointed by the Felt-Marshal.

13. That the yeelding of the towne, should be at eight a clock the next morning; and of the suburbs, before evening. And if the Governor by reason of some hinderance, could not goe in the morning; he should then have leave to tarry with his familie in his owne house, till the next morning: and the soldiers, in the Suburbs.

Upon these Articles, Tuesday October 30, was the town delivered: the Governor marching out with 400 Foot, and 120 Horsemen. One of his Foot-Captaines and whole company, turned soldiers to the *Swedish*. The towne thus conquered, was afterwards entrusted over unto those of *Strasbourg*: by which courtesie, they were not a little strengthened; this strong little towne, having shrewdly heretofore punished them.

The town being made over to the *Strasburgers*.

It

It pleased his Highnesse the Duke of *Lorraine*, about the end of the next moneth, to lay some claime unto this towne of *Benfelt*, as also unto *Dachstein*, (which the *Swedish* had by that time taken) and to *Zabern*. His Commissioners met with *Gustavus Horns*, at *Marienkirch*. His plea was, that he had lent certaine monyes upon them, and that they had therupon beene consigned over to him, for securitie. Wherefore hee in friendly manner requested, that *Benfelt* might now bee returned over to him. The *Swedish* Commissioners gave good words: but as for the towne, they could say nothing to it, till a *Diete* might be convoked in the Empire. In the meane time, they desired the Duke to rest assured, that if he neither supplied the Emperor with Aides nor Provisions; the *Swedes* would no way bee injurious unto his Highnesse lands, or subjects, but help to defend them rather: should the Emperor, upon pretence of his Highnesses being friend to the *Swedish* partie, offer to assaile them.

is claimed by
the Duke of
Lorraine,

which is denied
him.

Benfelt thus taken, his Excellencie the *Swedish* Felt-Marshall sent the *Rhinegrave* to take in *Marckelsheim*; a towne hard by, defended but by one company of Imperialists. The *Rhinegrave* had but a weake Partee as yet with him: the cause, that his summons were gybed at. The Imperialists told him, *he was no customer for them: nor had bee companions enow, to make them afraid of him.* Tis ill jesting with edge tooles. The *Rhinegrave*, hereupon, sending to *Benfelt* with all speed for some field peeces: he the same day, made his entrance into the towne, by force and battery. Here found he but 20 Horsemen, and those he tooke prisoners: the rest of them that belonged to the garrison, were gone out that morning to convoy in a Foot company, which was comming from *Colmar* to reenforce those of *Marckelsheim*. These the *Rhinegrave* having notice of, way-layes, meets withall, and defeats: bringing the Captaine of the Foot-Companie, his Leiftenant, and all his men, prisoners with him.

The *Rhinegrave*
takes
Marckelsheim.

Other *Swedish* Partees severally sent abroad, doe at the

same time take in all the best of those small *Strengths*, that lie along the river of *Ill* towards *Schleislat*-ward or a little beyond it: about 2 or 3 *English* miles from the river. These townes were, *Epfsch*, *Vpper Bercken*, *Dambach* and *Kessenholz*; together with *Gemar* upon the *Ill*, a little beyond *Schleislat*: so that *Schleislat* became hereby blocked.

Horn takes
Mutzig, and
Molsheim.

But the chieft of the Armie, and *Gustavus Horn* with it, advances towards *Molsheim*: a good towne upon the river *Brusch*, about 10 *English* miles West of *Strasburg*; and little above that distance North of *Benselt*. Horn causes *Mutzig* to bee first taken, a pretty towne one *English* mile West of *Molsheim*, belonging to one *Lansberg* a private Gentleman, that had served the Bishop. *Molsheim*, the fourth of our November *Horn* likewise investeth. The rowne not able to resist, begins to treat within 2 dayes: & the very sixth of November, (that fatal sixth of November, the day that the King of *Sweden* was slaine upon) receives in 3 troopes of *Swedish* Horse, with some Foot-Companies for a garrison. This secured *Strasburg* on that side.

Horn turns
towards *Schleislat*.

Thence turns our Felt-Marshall back unto *Schleislat*: and that wee now relate unto you. For though our purpose was, to heave led on our *Storie* no further then the Kings death; yet for that there wants but one moneths worke, for the taking of 2 or 3 townes more, in this *Alsacia*, and consequently, of *Gustavus Horns* marching up thence, into *Bavaria*: we chose rather to transgresse upon your patience, after the *Glasses being out*, then to leave the *Story* of these parts, unperfected.

The Jesuites
found to bee
Conjurers and
Poisoners.

This *Schleislat* is a very strong Imperiall towne, (and the strongest, next to *Benselt*) upon the river of *Ill*; about nine *English* miles to the Southeast of *Benselt*. There is a Colledge of *Jesuites* in it; and those, famous (or rather infamous) for the Studie of *Magick* or the *Black Art*: which some excuse, by the name of *Indiciall Astrologie*. I feigne nothing upon them: for so much was at *Strasburg* by a novice of theirs, publicquely upon his execution day (since *Christmas* last)

last) confessed. This yong fellow being native of *Straßburg* was brought up by the *Iesuites* of *Schleßstat*; and by them employed, for the poysoning of some chiefe men of *Straßburg*, for which he was executed. He confessed, that all the *Iesuites* of the *Colledge*, (excepting two) were *Magicians*; and a many of them *Poysoners*. And, indeed, both these *Arts Diabolicall*, doe our *Cunning men and women*, in these latter dayes practise together: that if by one of them, they shall foretell, the being in love, sicknesse or death, of any that requires their counsell; they may by the *Figgs*, and *Philters* and *Potions* of their other Art, endanger to make good their prediction. Nor are these feates onely practised by the *Iesuites*, in their *Colledges* of *Schleßstat*; but in other places too, as the world beleeveth. These *Arts*, and *lying*, confute stronglier, then all their *Schoole Divinitie*. Murder will out; but these, I leave till their discoveries.

This *Schleßstat*, though as strong as the Divell could make it; was not able a moneth together to resist the Armes of Justice, and a good cause, that were now brought against it. Leiftenant Colonell *Breitenbach* defended it: who had two troopes of Horse and 600 Muskettiers of Colonell *Metternichs* Regiment; which we heretofore told you to have comne from out of *Cullens* countrey, into the *Straßburgers* Jurisdiction. I purposely omit to relate the order of the siege laying, the maner of the Approaches, or the fallies of the besieged: minding to tell you of what strength the Imperialists were still in these parts, and what endeavours they now made, to deliver this and *Colmar*, which *Gustavus Horn* caused at the same time to bee blocked that he fere downe to *Schleßstat*.

Schleßstat besieged.

By this time was *Monte-Cuculi* gone through *Schwabland* into *Bavaria*: and Commissarie *Ossa* had his hands full about the *Lake of Constantz*; so that the Generallship in these parts of *Alsacia*, was againe made over to Marquess *William of Baden*: and hee now the second time againe appeared, after the spoiling of his countrey. The Marquesses troopes

troopes, were commanded by Major *Ascanio*; and sent to lie at *Ensisheim*, a towne upon the river *Ill*, 12 English miles South of *Colmar*, where the *Chamber* and *Judgement seat* is, for the *Marckgraviate* of the *Vpper Alsacia*. Some few Imperialists, lay also encamped at *Brisach* upon the *Easterne* bancke of the river *Rhine*, due East of *Colmar* and 12 miles from it. To these, were some Foot-Companies to be conjoynd, out of *Lorraine*; whose levying for the Emperors service, the Duke had there given way unto. To take on these *Lorrainers*, doe 12 Cornets of the *Brisachers* Horse, upon the sixteenth of November passe over their Bridge to the *Westward*; to meet the other, comming out of their owne Countrey. *Ascanios* men, were by that time come from *Ensisheim* unto *H. Crux* a towne within 5 English miles of *Colmar*. And these were about 18 Cornets more, (besides Foot:) all resolved to affront *Horns* Quarters, and to attempt the relieving, at least of *Colmar*. The *Rhinegrave Otto Lodowick*, having notice of the *Brisachers* being abroad; hee with 3 Regiments flies in upon the necks of them: kills, takes, and disperfes them; scarce 100 of them recovering with safety unto *Brisach*. Seaven Ensignes tooke he from them: and that he might pursue the victorie, before *Ascanios* men should have notice of his being so neer, he falls upon his Quarters about *Heilingen Crux* aforesaid. These taking the route, at the first charge; fled with all speed towards *Ensisheim*. Being come to *Wutenen* hard by *Ensisheim*; they beganne there to unbridle and disperse, thinking themselves there, in a good place of securitie. But the *Rhinegrave* having pursued them upon the spur; heinbd them in upon the sudden, set fire upon the 4 corners of the towne, to fire and smoake out the Imperialists. Of these, as they came without order, & at severall places running out; were 300 knockt downe upon the place: and among them, 2 Barons of *Riffenberg*, Leiftenant Colonell *Roben*; a Sergeant Major, 6 Horse Captaines, with diverse Cornets, and under Officers. Three hundred, (the most of them Dragoons)

The Imperialists gathering together to relieve *Schlusfiat*.

ners) being on the outside of the towne, had, at first, flung are defeated
downe their Armes, and desired to be taken into the *Rhine-* by the *Rhine-*
graves service. *Ascanio* being at *Ensisheim*, escaped with 3 grave.
Comets of Horse, (the remainder of 1200) away to Mar-
quette *William*: who then lying at *Tann*; departed present-
ly upon it towards *Burgundie*: Thus lost he all his countrey,
fortunes and reputation in the Emperors service; which hee
had before received from his favour.

Horn lying close to his siege of *Schlesstat* all this time,
and a great part of the towne next the walls, being already
burnt and spoiled with his Fireworkes and Granadoes:
Governour *Breitenbech* was upon the second of December,
enforced to treat a composition. The first demand made
by *Gustavus Horn* was, that the townsmen should pay him
20000 Dollars: and the many *Jewes* there, a summe by the
Poll proportionable; each *Jew* as much as 2 *Christians*. These
Jewes, are many there, and have a free *Synagogue* to blas- *Schlesstat ta-*
pheme *Christ* in: and these, the *Jesuites* for filthy luces ken.
sake, endure well enough; but a *Protestant* they worse hate,
then the Divell they Conjure by. The money was paid De-
cember the fifth, the garrison being 2 dayes before, departed
upon these Articles.

1. The Imperiall garrison both Horse and Foot, shall
December the third, depart freely, with flying Ensignes,
Drummes beating, trumpets sounding, matches lighted, bul-
let in the mouth, 2 field peeces, one wagon of match and bul-
lett, together with their baggage and sick people: all to bee
conveyed to *Brisach*; sufficient hostages being left in the
towne, for the safe returne of the *Swedish* Convoy.

2. Such sick and wounded soldiers as were not able pre-
sently to travel, should be left in the towne Hospitall: who
if ever they recovered, should not bee compelled to serve
the *Swedish* partie; but upon their desire, should have the
Felt-Marshall or Governors Passe, to returne back to their
owne Regiments.

3. All spoiles and bootie gotten in the time of this siege;

K k

whether

whether Horses or other prizes, shall remaine still unto the takers: but as for the prisoners, a reasonable exchange or rancome, shall end the difference.

For the safeties of the Citizens, were these following Articles agreed upon.

1. No kinde of revenge shall be taken upon the townsmen, for any defence made by them during the time of this siege: but they, together with the *Ecclesiasticall* persons: shall still be permitted the free use of the *Romane Catholick* Religion. All Cloisters, likewise, Castles and Jurisdicktions heretofore possessed by the townsmen; shall still remaine to them. Nor shall any Citizen or Inhabitant, of what condition soever he be, who hath either beene an Imperiall Officer, addicted himselfe to the warres, or done any speciall pece of service in defence of the towne, suffer any thing, either in life or fortunes, now nor hereafter, for it.

2. Neither King nor Kingdome of *Sweden* shall assume more authoritie to themselves over the towne, then heretofore the *Romane* Emperors or their Deputies, have done usually: and therefore shall all the immunities, priviledges, and Customes of the Citie, and in particular, also, the town of *Kinzen* with its Castle and Jurisdiction, bee left free to them.

3. If any of the Citizens, Officers, Servants, or Inhabitants, Spirituall or Temporall, shall bee desirous to depart the Citie, either now or hereafter: he shall at any time have free leave so to doe, and either to carry away his goods with him, or otherwise to dispose of them.

4. The Burgers shall not be over-burthened with Billeting or enquartering of soldiers: only shall the garrison have their competent allowance made them; for which, the soldiers shall be bound to keepe good discipline, and accept of such lodging as the Magistrates shall appoint them.

Dated Decemb. $\frac{2}{12}$ 1632.

and confirmed by *Gustavus Horn*, and the Councell of war.
A day

A day or two after this, was the Swedish Leiftenant Remshinger with a Partee of 70 Horse, set over the Rhine at the dorp of *Schona*, which hath a Castle to it: 9 or 10 English miles East of *Schlesstat*. Early in the next morning, was hee followed by *Zilhart*, with more Horses and Dragoones. These two, upon Saturday December the eight, steale suddenly upon the good towne of *Endingen*, about a league from the Rhine side, to the Eastward. Here was the Imperiall Colonel *Croneck*, with 5 troops of Horse enquartered: who was himselfe in the very beginning of the fight shot dead upon the place, above 100 of his men slaine, and all the rest disperfed, *Croneck* had a designe, to have surprised the Swedish Colonell *Einhausen* and his Regiment, whose Post was neere the Rhine, not farre from *Endingen*. It was a mistie morning, when this defeate happened, under favour of which gloominesse, the Imperialists made the better shift to escape *Zilhart*, who had the chase of them. *Cronecks* dead body, was presented to *Gustavus Horn*: who sent it into *Schlesstat* Church, to bee interred. *Endingen* towne, did hereupon become Swedish: who having that footing on that Easterne side of the Rhine, the Imperialists, that till then had kept a kinde of Field-leaguer, without the walls of *Brisach*, (but 8 English miles South of *Endingen*) breake up their Quarters presently upon it, and retire themselves into the citie.

Presently upon this, does *Gustavus Horn* take in *Horbürg*, a pretty towne upon the river *Ill*, with a bridge at it. Two English miles East of *Colmar*, by the taking whereof, was this *Colmar* the more streightned.

All this time, that is, ever since the beginning of November, had this Imperiall towne of *Colmar*, beene also blocked up: which since the taking of *Schlesstat*, had beene more pressed. The place of it, is upon the small river *Lauch*, (which a little from thence falleth into the *Ill*) about 13 English miles to the South of *Schlesstat*. The Imperiall Governor being resolved to hold the place, and the Citizens ged.

The Dutch Relation calls him Leiftenant Generall and Gallobelgicus, but a captaine.

5 Imperiall Cornets defeated;

and the towne of *Endingen* taken.

Colmar besie.

perceiving him not able to doe it; there falls out a difference upon it, betwixt the Burgers and the soldierie: The townsmen feared, that by the Governours obstinacie, their City would be taken by assault: and then should their houses be plundered or worse served: and therefore presse the Governour to a Parlee. Hee refusing; the citizens getting all their Billmen at once together; they just at dinner time, on Sunday December the ninth, sease upon the Governour with his Leiftenant, & imprison them: kill many of his soldiers that resisted them; and sent word with all speed unto *Gustavus Horn*, to come and take their citie. This made their conditions to be the better, and these they were.

By this you see that these townes of *Schleslas* and *Colmar*, did not as yet know of the death of the King of *Sweden*.

1. His Majestie of *Sweden* is contented to suffer the city of *Colmar*, still to remaine as a *Romish Catholike* citie: and in the enjoyment of the same her priviledges, Immunities, and rights, (as well the *Spiritualty* as the *Temporalty*) which they had in the yeare 1626: nor will his Majestie assume more authoritie over the same citie, then the *Romane Caesars* have heretofore exercised.

2. The King will receive the *Ecclesiastical* persons (both men and women) into his protection: and leave them the free exercise of their owne Religion.

3. In the ordering of the Magistracie, the King shall please to have consideration, of the wellfare and safetie of the townsmen; and that with respect unto the ancient customes: nor bringing in any new impositions.

4. The citie shall not be over-burthened with a greater garrison, then they shall well be able to maintaine: and the billeting of them shall bee at the discretion of the Magistrates, according to their former orders.

5. All that were willing still to remaine within the City, would his Majestie take the protection of: and whoever were minded to depart, should have free leave and libertie.

These Articles were dated at
Horbürg, Decemb. 10. 1632.

and Signed
Gustavus Horn.
Munday

Munday morning December the tenth, was the Imperiall garrison turned out at the *Ports*, to shift for their own safeties, the townsmen not so much (you see) as putting in one Article, in favour of them. The same night, did *Gustavus Horn* personally enter into *Colmar*: without exacting any one halfe Doliar from the townsmen. The onely thing that he added unto the Articles, (which was by entreatie too) was, that the *Lutherans* might have their old Church again within the towne, with the free exercise of Religion, as heretofore they had enjoyed. This being granted, the Lord Commissary-Generall and *Resident*, *Glazer*, the Lord *John Noe*, and many principall Protestants, who now lived in exile for their conscience sake, at *Straßburg*; did the 14 of December returne backe againe, unto their owne houles in *Colmar*. That day, was there a *Sermon* of Thanksgiving preached there, by Doctor *John Smide*, Superintendent of the *Augustane Confession*: who, with the rest, had the selfe-same day five yeares, beene exiled out of *Colmar*. Religion restored in *Colmar*.

His Excellencie *Gustavus Horn*, had in the meane time sent the Baron of *Croneck*, unto the Imperiall citie of *Hagenau*; 12 *English* miles to the North of *Straßburg*. His message to the Magistrates was, that if they thought good, to submit themselves unto the *Swedish* protection, then should their ancient Estate, Priviledges, Rights, and Customes, be left entire unto them: but if not, all should be by force confiscated. The charges of the war, moreover, which he should be put unto for the conquering of them, should doubly bee exacted out of their purses. These offers being sent unto them, by a fortunate and a conquering Armie; became prevalent at the first motion, and were accepted of. Thus easily, was *Hagenau* made *Swedish*; having not so much as scene the countenance of a *Swede*, till they took some of them in, to be their garrison. And thus became the valiant and discreet *Gustavus Horn*, the great conqueror of the *Vpper Alsatia*: and as much of the *Lower* too, as there needed.

And that wee may dispatch all the warres in these quarters

Hagenau yeelded to the *Swedish*.

tters neere the *Rhine*, at once; by this time was the town of *Frankendale* in the *Palatinate* given over by the *Spaniards*. The King of *Bohemia* by treating with the town, had before his death, drawne the Governor *Warelles* unto these conditions.

Frankendale
rendred.

1. That upon the eleventh of November, himselfe with all his souldiers should march out of *Frankendale*, in this equipage: That is to say, with Colours flying, Drummes beating, trumpets sounding, 3 Brasse peeces of ordnance, and such other ammunition, as themselves had brought in thither.

2. That the *Spaniards* should bee allowed 200 wagons, for the carrying away of their baggage.

3. That they should have a sufficient *Swedish* garrison, to convoy them unto the frontiers of *Luxemburg*.

Upon these termes, were the *Spaniards* by agreement with the King of *Bohemia*, to have left the towne upon the eleventh of November: but whereas they were to have received 7000 Rex Dollars for such ordnance and Ammunition, as they had heretofore brought into it, and now left behinde them: perchance upon the King of *Bohemia's* sicknesse first, and death afterwards, they could not sooner receive their monyes. The Gentleman employed by the King, to treat with the *Spaniards*, was Colonell *Colb*, and they were put to it by the King of *Spaines* and the *Arch-duchesses* agreement with King *James* (now also pressed by King *Charles*) to deliver up the towne unto the Prince *Palatine*, so soone as he should be able to keepe and maintaine it. The *Spaniards* would never treat with the King of *Sweden* about it, but with the Prince *Palatines* Ministers only: so that now, the King of *Bohemia* being likely enough to hold it, they condescend to deliver it. And indeed they had Commission from *Brussels* for it: being the willinger now to part with it, to faire a way, for that they saw, *Gustavus Horn* (perchance) would not let them long have held it.

And yet this might they have done too, had they known that

that he should have beene so soone sent for out of those Quarters, towards *Bavaria*. The *Spaniards* marching out, November 26. a garrison of countrey Boores is put into *Frankendale*, to keepe it for the Princes *Palatines*.

There being now no more townes (besides *Vdenheim* and *Heildleberg*) in those parts of the *Rhinish Circle*; which were not *Swedish*, the victorious *Gustavus Horn* received directions from Chancellor *Oxienstern*, to march up into *Bavaria*, and to joyne with the Generall *Banier*: the *Bavarians* being strong enough at that time, to fall a great way over the river *Lech*, even to the bancks of the *Dannbie* in the Duke of *Wurtembergs* countrie. Leaving therefore a sufficient part of the Armie with the *Rhinegrave*, for keeping what was conquered in *Alsacia*: he the eighteenth of December passes the *Rhine* at *Schona*, to goe against the *Bavarians* about the *Danubie*. These, he quickly made to finde the way over their *Lech* againe, and since then, with the assistance of Duke *Bernard* and *Banier*: hath forced to the other side of *Bavaria*, to another part of the *Danubie*: even their old starting holes, of *Ingolstat* and of *Regensburg*. But this prosecution, I meane not to meddle with. Turne we back now to the Landgrave of *Hessens* victories.

Gustavus Horn leaving part of the Armie with the *Rhinegrave*; marches up into *Bavaria*, with the residue.



THE ACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE LANDGRAVE OF HESSEN:

From the time of his receiuing some aides from the King of Sweden, at Werben, untill his joyning with the said King againe, about the Ringau. A Storie of some 3. Moneths.



That our Reader may not mistake the chief person in the Action, tis Landgrave *William* of *Hessen-Cassel*, whom wee treat of: Son and heire unto that so famous and learned Prince, *Maurice* of *Hessen* who was yet alive, about *Franckford*: banisht from his owne Estate by the Emperor.

And a gallant Cavalier he had beene in his time, though now well in yeares, and diseased. Hee was borne at *Cassel*, the chiefe Citie of the *Lower Hessen*; in the yeare 1572. His father was the Landgrave *William* of *Hessen*; surnamed the *Wise*. His Grandfather, was *Philip*: that brave spirited Prince; the great and constant Patrone and Defendor, of the Reformed Religion. His mother, was the Ladie *Sabina*, Duchesse of *Wurtemberg*. He was a Prince excellent in all kinds of learning; and skilled in many languages. Of a most admirable witt, and a very happie memory. A rarely learned *Philosopher*, and a most powerfull and perswading Orator:
and

and withall a neate and extemporary Poet: and what was beyond all these, a most undanted maintainer of his reformed Religion. As for the habit of his body; he was tall of stature; to which he had a Prefence and Motion, of a Princely and majesticall deportment. He died at *Eschweg*, a towne of the *Lower Haffia*, the 15. of March 1632: and the third of May following, he was with solemnity enterred at *Cassels*. And thus much is due unto the good *Landgrave*: whose happinesse and honour it was, amidst all the troubles which the Emperour put him to; to be the Father of so brave a sonne, as had the spirit and good fortune; to vindicate the honour and liberty of the Family. To him now turne wee.

The chiefe of the quarrell which the Emperour had to him, was for his Religion, and some Church-lands; The *Landgraves* complaint against the Emperour, againe; was for a Sentence (partly) by *Cesar* passed against him Anno 1623. by which, the towne and University of *Marpurg* in *Hessen* were adjudged away from him unto his Cozin the Landgrave *Lodowick* of *Hessen Darmstat*: a Lutherane by profession, and not so point blank opposite unto the Catholicke party: and whose sonne hath beene a diligent instrument of the Emperours, to draw the King of Sweden to a Treaty, when he lay at *Mentz*; and still works with his Father in Law the Elector of *Saxonie* to the same purpose. Of this Imperiall Sentence, the Elector of *Cullen*, (with him of *Saxonie*) had beene one of the Commissioners and Executioners: which made the *Landgrave* stomack him.

After that the businesse of Germany became (on the Catholicke side) a *Leaguer-warre*, and a *Quarrell of Religion*; then were the Protestants, on all hands laid at; by these *Leaguers*, as well as by the Emperour; every of them flying upon his next neighbour. Whereas, therefore, the *Landgrave* had chiefly beene borne downe by the Electors of *Mentz* and *Cullen*, on the one side; and by the neere Abbies of *Fulda* and *Hirschfeld*, on the other; with these hee now begins to cry quittance: so soone (namely) as he findes himselfe strong
LI enough,

enough, and that the King of *Sweden* had so potently already advanced into *Germany*.

To make way therefore for this *Landgraves* invading of others; wee will first shew you, how hee cleared his owne Country at home: even then infested by the Imperialists.

About the beginning of September 1631 (as in our *First Part* wee have told you) the *Landgrave* returns from the King of *Sweden*, with some aydes for the guard of his owne Country: and that gallant Cavalier Duke *Bernard* of *Saxon-Weymar*, was also at this time with him. The *Landgrave* being returned; first, musters up an Armie of 4000 Foot: whereof 3600 were old souldiers; the rest, trained Boores: and amongst them three Companies of hardy Forristiers and Huntsmen: of which last kinde of people, the Princes of these woodie Countries have a great multitude. To these 4000 Foot, were 1000 Horse, and two peeces of Ordnance joyned.

His quarrell seemed chiefly to be intended, against the Bishopricks and Abby-lands: which was as crosse as might be unto the late Imperiall Decree of *Ratisbone*. And not so onely, but even against the Imperiall family also. The Emperours second sonne, Prince *Rodolph William*, was now Abbot of *Hirschfeld* in *Hessen-land*, next neighbour unto the *Landgraves* owne possessions. This young Prince, upon the resignation of his Uncle the Archduke *Leopold*: was made Priest, and had his Bishopricks of *Passaw* and *Straßburg*: in lieu of which, the Archduke was made Administrator of all the lands of the house of *Gratz* (of which this Emperor is) in *Alsazia*, *Tirole*, &c. This Princely young Priest, was in the year 1628, chosen Abbot of *Hirschfeld* afore-said; and should have beene Archbishop of *Madenburg* also: whose missing of it, was the destruction of that goodly Citie. He had the Abby of *Hirschfeld*, with condition, that the *Landgraves* right unto the Citie; and the Citizens freedome of religion, should be reserved. The present Abbot and Prince of *Fulda*, was one *John Bernard Schenck* of *Schweinsberg*; Elected

The Actions of the Landgrave of Hessen.

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Elected Anno 1613. who by the Title of his Abby, is likewise one of the Princes of the Empire. To the towne of *Fulda*, hath the *Landgrave* some pretences also. This towne of *Hirschfeld*, and the *Abby-lands* about it, (being upon the river *Fulda*, in the very heart of *Hassia*) were since these warres, still guarded by some Imperiall forces; and military men (for the most part) being nothing dainty of committing *Actions of Trespasses*; had trenched, with the furthest, upon the *Landgraves* Royalties, and the Cities *priviledges*. This was another of the grievances. Towards this *Hirschfeld*, therefore, so soone as he came from the King; the *Landgrave* converts his forces. The Generall *Fugger*, was already gone out of his Country: halting to be one at the *Battle Hirschfeld*. He clears of *Leipsich*; by which meanes had the *Landgrave* the better opportunity, to bring the place to a composition. That done, hee about the middle of the moneth, advances Westward unto *Fritzlar*, with the 5000 men afore mentioned. This handsome towne, though situated upon the river *Eder* within the bounds of *Hassia*, close unto the Frontiers of *Waldeck*, yet belonged it unto the Archbishop Elector of *Menz*: and had beene often heretofore quarrelled at, by the former *Landgraves*. The garrison answers his summons, as if they held for *Iupiter*; in *thunder and lightning*, namely, such as they could make with their Ordnance. The *Landgrave* replies, as if he had Commission from *Vulcan*: for having gained to the gate by his Approaches, he claps to a Petard; and by that breach, his soldiers rush into the Citie. Then would the garrison have compounded: but souldiers (whose very vocation suffers them not to be too tender-hearted) use not (when victorious) to listen too suddenly to the word *Quarter*. The Execution being over, the towne is plundered: and doe the *Landgrave* what he could, with his drawn sword to beat off his owne people; yet for two houres together they flew upon the spoile. The *Landgrave* gave as good order, as the present fury would hearken too, for the sparing of the *Ecclesiasticks*: for all which, a many souldiers came

Takes *Fritzlar*.

The Actions of the Landgrave of Hessen.

Masking abroad in the *Monks* and *Friers Cowles* and *Habits*; The rude *Forrestiers*, perchance, mistooke the *Monks* in their severall *Weedes*, for some strange wilde beasts; such as they used to kill in the woods, and to goe marching home with the skinnes upon their shoulders. The *Hassians* shewed the more spleene against this towne, for that the Governor had scoffed heretofore at their *Landgrave*; had plundered two of his drops in the jurisdiction of *Girdeberg*: and disarmed the souldiers that defended them. For this reason also, was the Governor himselfe now carried prisoner into *Ziegenbaim*.

*Altringer and
Fugger fall in-
to Hessen.*

Altringer and *Fugger* in the meane time, having upon their hearing of *Tilley's* defeat, hastned back againe; were passed through *Duringen*, and now fallen into the Eastern parts of *Hessen*. They there first take in the towne of *Vach*; and *Fredelant* Castle next to that: both about the river *Werra*. Passing this river after this, they advance towards *Hirschfeld*, before mentioned, and take that also: but the *Landgrave* having by this dispatched about *Fritzelar*, sends Duke *Bernard Weymar* with some 18 troopes of horse, and 1000 Foot towards them; himselfe immediately following with the grosse of his Armie. The Imperiall Generalls quit *Hirschfeld* upon this newes; and notwithstanding that the Count of *Tilly* had ordered them to fall lustily upon the *Landgraves* forces: yet they now taking the Count of *Manfeld* unto them, (who lay with some forces in the neighbour jurisdiction of *Fulda*; for the guard of that goodly rich Abby) all together march Eastward out of the land of *Hessen*, towards *Isenach*, and so to the *Weser*; by which river *Tilly* now was comming to ioine with them. The Count of *Sultz*, then about *Gelnhausen*, (or betwixt that and *Fulda*) comming also to pece in with them, marches back againe towards the *Lorrainers*: upon the newes, namely, of *Fuggers* retreat, and of the *Swedish* entrance into *Franconia*.

Hassia cleared
of the Impe-
rialists.

Thus became *Hassia* cleared, though but for a very little space.

space. The Landgrave presently upon it, defeating 4 troopes of the rambling *Crabats* by the way; comes and pitches his Armie by the river of *Fulda*, neere unto his owne Court and chiefe towne of *Cassel*. And time it was to doe it: seeing *Tilly* before the end of the moneth, was false upon his Frontiers; and *Aliringer* and *Fugger* returned towards the river *Fulda*, againe to spoile his Countrey, and to ioyne with *Tilly*. The story of which actions, wee leave to be read in the *Generall Tillyes Proceedings*: already printed in our *Second Part*.

Tilly being gone out of his Countrey, in the beginning of October; the Landgrave with 8000 Foot, 10 troopes of Horse, and 14 Peeces of Ordnance (whereof 6 Peeces of Battery) sets forward againe to pursue his former purpose against the *Bishopricks*. October the seventh to *Munden* hee comes, a *Bishops See* some 7 or 8 *English* miles to the north of *Cassel*, where the river *Fulda* falleth into the *Werra*. Here had *Tilly* beene lately; and there left some 600 men. Against this, the Landgrave casts up 2 Batteries: from whence he all that night thunders upon the *Tillians*. The garrison now out of hope to defend themselves, or to be relieved by others; parly and yeeld. Their conditions were, to goe out with flying Ensignes, Bagge and Baggage, Full Armes, &c. And to be convoyed by 2 troopes of the *Hessens* Horse into *Goettingen*, 12 *English* miles to the East of *Munden*. The Landgrave takes Advant. n.

Hence marches the Landgrave Northward, into the Bishoprick of *Paderborn*; which is upon the West side of the goodly river of *Weser*, and holden in Commendam by the Bishop of *Cullen*, who writes himselfe Administrator of it. Hereabouts, September 27 (old Style) had *Tilly* left the Count of *Gronsfels* and Colonell *Reinacher*, with a small Armie; for the guard of this Bishoprick of *Paderborn*, and of the rich Abby of *Corbey*, which lies close upon the Western bank of the *Weser*. Three of the formost of the Landgraves troopes, did Count *Gronsfels* men light upon; and cut the throates of the most of them, carrying away their Ensignes. Advances into Paderborn.

Some of his
troopes, twice
defeated.

Full of desire to revenge this, out goes Lieutenant *Pfaunkuck*, with two troopes of Horse: but these staying to refresh themselves (or to doe worse perchance) in a small Dorp neere unto *Paderborn*; were also surpris'd by the *Gronsfelders*, and cut in peeces like their fellows.

Hee takes
townes in *Paderborn*,

The Landgrave himselfe was at first gone towards *Hoxter*, in the Jurisdiction of the Abbot of *Corbey*, which yeelds unto him: paying him 8000 Dollars for a Ransome. Thus doe other townes thereabouts. Thence advances he towards *Paderborn*, from which parts, *Gronsfeld* and *Reinacher* (being too weake) were retired along the *Weser* towards *Hamelen*. *Paderborn* Citie compounds with him, and gives him 5000 Dollars for its ransome. At *Nienhus* upon the river *Lippe*, some two *English* miles to the North of *Paderborn*; he takes downe the Elector of *Cullens Armes*, and causes the King of *Swedens Eschutcheon* to be set up in the roome it. Some eight *English* miles to the South-west, he takes in *Soltkott*: whence some of his troopes advance into the neighbour Countrey called *The Dukedome of Westphalia*, and take *Geseck*. Others, keeping, still in *Paderborn Diocese*, and upon the South of it: take in *Warburg* upon the river *Dimel*: a faire towne just upon the Frontiers of *Hessen*, the County of *Waldeck* and *Paderborn*. The next good towne of *Waldeck*, is *Volckmarsen*, upon the small river of *Tuisch*, some 5 *English* miles to the South of *Warburg*.

and in the
Dukedome of
Westphalia.

The same Division of his Army turning now Westward into the aforefaid Dukedome of *Westphalia*, takes in *Stassberg*: a fine towne upon a hill by the river *Dimel*, some 15 *English* miles from *Warburg*; thence goe they to *Brilon*, 10 *English* miles more Westerly. In this part of *Westphalia*, is the Elector of *Cullen* Lord of a many places. At *Arensberg*, a very faire town upon the river *Rhur*, (some 25 miles West of *Brilon*) hath he a goodly Castle: which the Landgrave now seases. Out of *Paderborn* and *Westphalia*, tooke hee a world of Cattle of all sorts; which hee sent home to his Boores of *Bischehausen*, in recompence of what the *Tilli-*

ans

ans had lately taken from them. All these above-named townes, in the Dukedome of *Westphalia*, and the Bishoprick of *Paderborn*; are to be seene partly, in *Mercators Second Table of Westphalia*, and partly, in the particular Mapp of *Paderborn*: but best of all, in the Mapp of the Dukedome of *Westphalia*.

The Elector of *Cullen* having heard of the *Landgraves* The Elector of
Progress in his *Diocesse* of *Paderborn*, and Dukedome of *Cullen* writes
Westphalia, writes to him to hold his hand: the *Landgraves* unto him.
answer to which, is as followeth.

Most Reverend, most Illustrious, and loving Cofin, &c.

Y Our Letters dated at *Cullen* $\frac{11}{14}$ of this October, wee His answer.
have received by your Trumpet. And whereas you in
them complaine of us, for our invasion of the Bishoprick of
Paderborn, in answer therunto Wee will not conceale,
how heartily sorry wee are, and how sensible; of those ma-
ny and severall Armies, which as well from the *Catholicke*
leaguers, as others, have for these many yeares together,
beene sent into this our deare Countrey of *Germany*. How
unchristianly and inhumanely, the *Protestant* Princes, and
States of the Empire, and our owne dominions in particular,
since wee came to the Government thereof, have beene
used by these Armies: and that against all reason, without
any cause, and besides all colour of right and iustice: we are
yet sensible of. And which is worse then all this: wee yet
feele, that when wee and our poore Subjects, did at any
time complaine or sue for iustice or redresse, wee were but
scorned and rejected for our labours: contrary to all lawes
and rights of nations in generall, and unto the *Imperiall Ca-*
pirulations in particular: as also against the peace of *Religion*
and of *Policie*, all *Constitutions* and *Articles* of the *Empire*,
and of the *Circles* thereof. Wee have endured the most
barbarous usage that might be, in our said dominions: En-
quarte-

The miserable
estate of the
Protestant
Princes, before
the Kings co-
ming into Ger-
many; for even
thus, were all
of them ser-
ved.

quarterings, namely, Taxations, Burnings, Robberies, Sackings of our townes and villages: yea also and of putting to the sword, innumerable innocent subiects of ours of all forts. But we have since understood, what their intent and drift then was, in so doing: by all force and violence, namely, to render us every where odious, and to make a most miserable beggar of us withall; by at once depriving us of our Countrey, goods, and subiects. During all which proceedings of theirs, and most lamentable sufferings of ours; the worst of all yet was, that upon those infinite complaints, prayers, cryes and lamentations, which both by word of mouth, letters and Ambassages wee made unto his Imperiall Maiestie, your selfe, and other Princes our Cosins, &c. wee were never able to obtaine so much, as that any one of all these, would once vouchsafe to take the least pity of our cases, or shew any *Christian* compassion towards us: as if wee had utterly bene incapable, yea unworthy altogether; of any law, justice, kindnesse, favour, or benefit. By this meanes (God is our witnesse) wee being become a Prince reiectcd altogether, by such as beare sway in the Empire; found our selves (and that upon iust grievances, not to be longer endured) enforced to take upon us such a resolution, as is indeed lesse desperate and more salutary; then if we had longer suffered and winked at, the said horrible and most enormous proceedings.

For this reason therefore, have wee made allyance with those, that by the most especiall providence of God, and to their owne great hazard, dangers and expences, are come armed into *Germany*; to the comfort of the *Evangelicall Professors*, and consequently of our own selves: whom (fighting for the iust cause) God hath already blessed with such notable victories, as wee already most heartily thanke him for them. Thus being obliged, to seeke (by Gods helpe) together with our said Allyes and our sword, (which our enemies have by force put into our hands) such a Peace and quietnesse; as we have not bene able heretofore to obtaine, by any

any prayers, or any (even almost unworthy and unprincipally, and therefore unexcusable) patience, complaints or petitions. Being now by these reasons obliged, to take the same courses, as your said *league* hath given us examples to doe; and being now utterly robbed and despoiled of what was our owne, to seeke what heretofore was not our owne. Wherefore we kindly pray you (as being a most excellent and high member of the said *Catholike league*) not to take it in ill part, if we now follow the Rule, which is so solidly grounded upon Reason and Justice, *Quod quis in iuris statuerit in alium, eo ipso, ipse utatur*. That every man would be content to have the same sentence passe upon himselfe, which hee hath pronounced upon another.

And thus, since there cannot at this present, any end of these *Germane* miseries be expected; without such conditions be first assented unto, whereby those insupportable grievances of the *Protestants* may before-hand be removed: and without the consent of such Princes, (not of us alone) as the *Catholike League* hath by force (as it were) drawne into this warre; and in whose hands the right of peace-making yet remaineth. And forasmuch as the *Generall Director of the Protestant warre*, his royall Majestie of Sweden, by name, (our most deare and honoured Lord and Cousin) hath appointed us what to doe, untill either by the sharpnesse of our swords, or rather by some faire meanes (if it were possible) such a true peace might once againe be settled, whereby both our selves and posterities might become sufficiently assured of our safeties, and that hereafter wee might no more stand in awe of the like miseries and abuses. Meane while that such a peace is expected, his said most Excellent Majestie hath promised us his royall Protection: intending to bring all to consent unto such conditions, and to give such *assurances*, as shall be sufficient to hinder all further bloodshed and destruction. Wee therefore for our owne parts, now doe, and ever hereafter shall, (according to our peaceable and *Christian inclination*) so soone as ever

The King of
Sweden's Title,
given him by
the Protestants.

The Actions of the Landgrave of Hessen.

wee shall understand the said *Lord Generall Director*, and other interested Princes, to be satisfied in themselves, and be pleased to signifie unto us, the meanes whereby this warre (which hath beene enforced upon them and us,) may have a happy conclusion; offer our selves with all readinesse, to performe whatsoever may become a Prince that keeps a good Christian conscience within him, and is not desirous of any troubles; even as wee have not beene the causers of these miseries.

Thus wee remaine,

Yours,&c.

With this breaking in of the *Landgraves* into *Westphalia*, and upon such a quarrell too; was *Francis William* Bishop of *Osnabrug* (though something out of the way) so much affrighted, that hee fled speedily unto *Cullen*. And there hee thought himselfe yet at home; seeing when hee was but Count of *Wartenberg*, he had been *Major Domo*, *Hoffmeister*, or *Lord Steward* unto that *Elector*, till the yeare 1614, that he was chosen Bishop of *Osnabrug*. But the *Landgrave* meant him not: he was yet busie in *Paderborn* and *Westphalia*. About the middle of October, hee first summons the *Temporall* Lords and Gentlemen of the Bishoprick, to appeare before him; to take the *Oath of fidelity* to the King of *Sweden* and the *Protestant* Party; to agree among themselves concerning the levying of the Contributions; and to consult upon the enquartering of his souldiers. Here did he give out *Commissions* also, for some new levies. Thus doth he likewise, in the jurisdiction of the *Abbot of Corbey*. In the conquered places of *Westphalia*, hee had at his first entrance published his *Proclamation*: which was, for the calling home of all such *Westphalian* souldiers, as were in service either with the Emperour or *Catholike* leaguers: giving them sixe weekes time to come in, after which hee would cease upon what ever they had in the Countrey.

The *Landgrave* summons the Gentry of *Paderborn*.

The

The *Catholickes* of this Duchie of *Westphalia*, being startled by the nearnesse of the danger; send their Deputies unto the *Landgrave*: desirous to purchase their peace at the best hand of him. To their Proposition, this was his Answer. Although in respect of *Tullies*, *Altringers* and *Fuggers* vile demeanors in his Countrey, by ravishing of wives and virgins; by burning, plundering and massacring of his subjects, and that in such a manner, as the like was scarce to be found in any *Story*; he had provocation sufficient given him, to slacken the reins of all good military discipline; and to suffer his soldiers in the like manner, to ryott it in all formes of licentiousnesse within the Lordships of the *Catholickes*: yet his disposition being better enclined unto faire and just courses; he would not now become rigorous upon the revenge, against those that had in so good time requested their peace of him. And yet thus much withall, would he have the Deputies to take notice of; that if within eight dayes next, the Governour of the Province *Frederick Furstenburg*, with some of the Magistrates of *Arnsberg*, did repaire unto himselfe or his Commissioners; and there conclude upon the admission of his garrisons into the towns of *Weele*, *Meschede*, *Geseke*, *Kallenhard*, *Beelick*, *Brilon*, *Morsburg*, *Niderbach*, *Hallenberg*, *Smallenberg*, & *Wimmerberg*; and that his soldiers might be maintained by these townes; which should moreover redeeme themselves from pillaging, by paying him a summe of ready money: they should then be free from all danger. But if herein they hearkened not unto him, then would he not forbid his men to do as the *Tillians* had done, himselfe would force what garrisons he pleased upon them: and what calamities might befall unto *Westphalia* thereupon, let themselves or any man conjecture.

These of *Westphalia* send to agree with him.

The conditions he offers them.

see for these townes, in the Mappe of the Dukedome of *Westphalia*, in *Mercators Appendix*.

The *Landgrave* was now at *Cassel*; here was this treaty held, and hither, indeede, were the *Westphalians* glad to send as hee would have them. Thus made hee but a short worke of it in *Westphalia*, *Paderborn*, and *Corbey*: for by

The Actions of the Landgrave of Hessen.

the middle of November, were part of his forces received into the above-desired garrisons, and the rest returned into *Hessen*. At home in *Hessenland* in the meane time, were the two great *Abby townes* of *Fulda* and *Hirschfeld* (the first *Abbies* of the Empire) glad to compound with him. The iurisdiction of *Hirschfeld* is reformed: that is, all the Imperialists put out (indeed *Tilly* had called out the most of them, to goe along with him) and the *Landgraves* forces taken in. Those of *Fulda*, send him 6000 Dollars unto *Cassel*, and will be content to continue their Contributions, and withall to take an oath unto him, as their Protector, so that the King of *Swedens* name might not be used in it. This is a clause which many *Catholicke* townes and persons, have usually indeede checked at: but how farre the *Landgrave* had power to condescend unto them, I know not.

He goes to
the King of
Sweden.

The *Landgrave*, thus, having given the law to all these people, and finding no more worke at home, goes to seeke it of the King of *Sweden*: to whom (as you have heard in our *Second Part*, in the *Kings* *Storie*: he went with his Armie towards the end of November.

* *

THE



THE ACTIONS OF THE LOVVER

SAXONIE.

*Of the taking of the great Citie of Rostocke, in
the Dukedome of Mecklenburg, by the King
of Swedens and Duke Iohns forces, October
16. 1631.*



Ow farre Duke Iohn Albert of
Mecklenburg had by mid-September,
proceeded in the siege of Ro-
stocke, wee leave to be read page
81, &c. of our *First Part*, and the
Third Edition of it. The Lord
Vermont, that was Sergeant-Major
Generall of the Imperiall Armie,
which *Watenstein* had lately left in
those parts, was now Governour
within the said Citie. A brave valiant Gentleman, truly
he was; one that did what might be done, for the keeping
of that so important a Citie. But hearing it to be now se-

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conded

conded by every man, that the Generall *Tilly* was so utterly defeated at *Leipsie*, as hee was farre unable to resist the so much prevailing fortunes of the King of *Sweden*, and therefore no way likely to levie this siege: he findes himselfe necessitated to give way (with the rest) unto the times; and resolves to prevent a *Schaladoe*, by a *Parlie*: he wanted pay to content his souldiers, and therefore they want wills, to performe their duties. The Townsmen grew weary, and would trust no longer: and the souldiers mutinous, and would fight no longer. Every man now called for a *Parlie*, and therefore by the 15 of October, was the Governour enforced to send his *Drumme* out into the Enemies leaguer, to demand it. The Treatie, in the upshot, came to these 14 conditions.

1:

That the Lord *Virmant* Sergeant-Major-Generall, should be licenced by Duke *Iohn* of *Mecklenburg*, to depart the towne the next day, with all his Officers, Soldiers, and their families. Have leave also to carry with him two halfe *Curzoes*, or *Quarter-Canon*, and one Field-piece: provided that none of them had the Armes upon them, either of the King of *Sweden*, the Dukes or Dukedome of *Mecklenburg*, or of the City of *Rostock*. And that they should have 100 bullets to them, 2000 pound of powder, and as much match, and musket bullets. That they should goe out with full Armes, matches lighted, bullet in the mouth, colours flying, and with bagge and baggage upon their wagons. And that they should have a *Swedish* Convoy as farre as *Wolfenbuttle* in *Brunswick-land*: whether they should be suffered to goe in, if it were not besieged: and in case it were, then should they be convoyed into some other towne neer unto the said *Wolfenbuttle* or the river *Weser*, which then had an Imperiall garrison in it: and that they should leave sufficient hostages with the Duke, for the safe returne of the *Swedish* Convoy.

2. That

2.

That *John Duke of Mecklenburg* his Grace, and the Lord *Achatins Todt*, Leiftenant-Generall of the Horſe to his Ma-
jeſtie of *Sweden*: ſhould take order for the furniſhing of
theſe Imperiall forces now going out, with ſufficient bread,
beere, and Horſe-meate, all the way, untill they came unto
the place aforeſaid. And to the end they might be no wayes
diſturbed in their march on the further ſide of the *Ebb*; the
ſaid Duke and Lord ſhould give them their joynt letters, un-
to the Dukes of *Brunſwick* and of *Lunenbourg*.

3.

That the Officer who ſhould now be appointed to goe
along with, and to command this their *Swediſh* Convoy,
ſhould have a charge not to forſake the ſaid Imperialiſts, un-
till he had fully and ſafely brought them to one of the places
aforeſaid. And to the end that this Officer ſhould take no
advantage or occaſion, to excuſe himſelfe from going
thorough with them; the Lord *Virmont* ſhould have a pri-
vate letter given him under ſeale, wherein the names of this
Officer *Frederick Hensfeld*, and of thoſe 150 Horſemen which
were to goe upon the convoy, ſhould be written: that in
caſe the *Swediſh* ſhould offer to returne, *Virmont* might then
produce this letter to ſtay them.

4.

That this convoy allotted them ſhould take care, that no
injurie were offered upon the march unto the Imperialiſts;
either by the King of *Swedens* troopes, the Dukes of *Saxo-
nies*, or of *Mecklenburg*.

5.

That the Imperiall Officers ſhould have horſes lent them
for the carriage of their private baggage and Valceſes; and
for ſuch wounded and ſick men to ride upon, as had no hor-
ſes.

ses of their owne: and that they should have 40 Wagons goe along with them, so farre as the said convoy was to conduct them. That the Magistrates of the Citie should likewise furnish them with horses, for the drawing away of their Ordnance: which should also be returned by the same Convoy. *Virmont* should passe his word also, that the *Swedes* in their returne should no wayes be molested by the Imperialists: and that (if necessity seemed so to require) the *Swedish* also should have Convoy backe againe of some of these Imperiall Horse: untill they should be passed all the danger: which *Horse* taking their Hostages back from *Rostock* with them, should by a *Swedish* Trumpet be brought home againe.

6.

All prisoners should on both sides be set at liberty, without rancome: paying onely for their victualls, for the time passed.

7.

Such as had runne from their Colours unto one anothers Armie, should also be turned home againe.

8.

All conference, upon the way, betwixt the soldiers of either party, should be forbidden: and no Officer was to inveigle away one anothers soldiers.

9.

All differences risen heretofore betwixt the Imperialists and the Burgers of *Rostock*, should be buried in oblivion: and those personall and particular suites which were at this present depending; should be made an end of by the Magistrates or Officers appointed on both sides: who should with all speed convenient, procure redresse unto the plaintiffe.

10. All

10.

All such workes, as had beene made up of late for the fortifying of the Citie, should so remaine unslighted: and that for avoiding of all danger, all the new digged mines about the towne, should be discovered to the Enterers. The Burgers also should not be plundered nor exacted upon, by the departing Imperialists.

11.

That the Lord *Virmont* should have free leave, to send *Volponius* (his Lieutenant Colonell) into *Wismar*, to discover the state of that Citie: and if he saw occasion to advise that garrison, to goe out also; they of that towne should have the same conditions, with those of *Rostock*; whether they thought good to goe out presently, or to stay three weekes longer: till which time, a Cessation of Armes should on both sides be granted.

12.

That it should be free for the Duke of *Fridlands* Chancellor and Counsellors, either to goe now out of the towne with the soldiers, and to carry all their goods and Records with them; or to stay behind still: and to be assured that they should no wayes be damnified.

13.

Whereas the Armes of the Citizens, had during the siege time beene made use of by the soldiers: all those peeces of Armor which *Virmonts* people had not evident and present use of, should be left in the towne behinde them.

14.

If (which God forbid) any scarre-fire should breake out in the towne, at the going forth of the Imperialists; there should no advantage thereupon be taken by the *Swedish*.

Nn

to

to quarrell either *Virmont* or his people : but an exemplary and severe punishment, should light only upon that person; by whose negligence or mischievousnesse, such a Casualtie had beene occasioned.

These 14 Articles being the same day agreed, and signed by both parties; the next day being Friday October 16. did the Governor *Virmont* march forth of the towne; together with 3200 Foot, two troopes of Horse, and all other things formerly agreed upon : 150 *Swedish* Horse attending without the towne, to bring them going to the place aforesaid. The Imperialists being arrived about *Wolfenbuttle*, made immediately towards the river *Weser*, whereabouts the General *Tilly* at that time was; whom *Virmont* thought to doe a very good service unto, if hee should now joyne with his weake Armie. *Virmont* being upon his march thitherward; was countermanded by the Count of *Manfeld*, Governour of *Magdenburg*; then Imperiall Felt-marshall for the *Lower Saxonie*, and directed to conjoyne himselfe with Colonell *Bonickhausen* (who had a Regiment neere hand, of 13 Cornets of Horse) and that they two should presently besiege *Halberstae*, into which, some *Swedish* forces had very lately gotten. *Virmont* obeyes presently, hoping for the losing of one towne, to make himselfe a faver, by the winning of another. His summons being by the towne denied, he sets his 3 Gunnes to worke, which hee had brought out of *Rostock*. A furious battery he made so long as it lasted, & great hopes of a sudden breach he also conceived : but (alas) his hundred of bullets would not hold out ever, nor that small store of powder which hee brought with him out of *Rostock*. Thus seeing no good to be done upon that nation, which came not into *Germanie* so easily to loose Cities, but to winne them; he was faine to surcease his volleys, and to be rising. This when he had signified unto the Count of *Manfeld*; hee received a command to repaire to him into *Magdenburg*: which he was bodily afraid, would be besieged by the *Swedish*.

Virmont besieges *Halberstae*, in vaine.

dish: as indeed it was, within a few dayes after. That the towne of *Magdenburg* might not be overcharged, nor the wayes ungarded, *Virmont* is sent immediately into *Wasseben*, about 10 *English* miles short of *Magdenburg* to the *Westward*, and *Bonighansen* tooke up his quarter at a lesser towne, not farre from it: where how they both sped, wee may hereafter tell you, when wee come to speake of *Magdenburg*.

The Levies agreed upon by the Protestant Princes and Cities of the Circle of the Lower Saxonie, in their Diet at Hamborow, 1631. for their owne defence against the Imperialists.

THIS goodly Countrey of the *Lower Saxonie* (which is the ninth *Circle* of the Empire) contains the 2 Archbishopsricks of *Magdenburg* & *Bremen*, the great Bishopsricks of *Hildesheim*, *Lubeck*, *Suerin*, *Ratzenburg*, *Minden*, and *Schleswick*: the 5 Dukedomes of *Saxon-Lawenburg*, *Mecklenburg*, *Brunswick*, *Lunenbourg* and *Holstein*; the two Earldomes of *Rossain* and *Delmenhorst*: and the free Cities of *Lubeck*, *Hamborow*, *Mulhausen*, *Northausen*, *Goslar*, and *Goettingen*. Here also be most of those potent *Hanse* townes, (each being a compleat Common-wealth within it selfe) as *Magdenburg*, *Lubeck*, *Wismar*, *Rostock* &c. so famous both in ancient and moderne Stories.

The greater of these free, Imperiall, and *Hanse* townes, being of the *Lutherane* or *Augustane* confession; had sent their Deputies unto the famous *Protestants Diet* of *Leipsich*: which being ended April the third, no sooner were these Deputies returned home againe, but they are sent the second time unto another *Diet* held at *Hamborow*, in the beginning of May following. The consultation was, in what forme

they might safeliest subscribe unto the *Decrees* of the Diet of *Leipsich*, and how farre engage themselves in a joynt *Union* and *levie*; for the defence of the *Protestant Religion*, and the *liberties* of *Germanie*. But this consultation, though something was done in it to countenance the cause; yet were no publique levyes set on foot, to defend it. That which broke the plot, (for the time) was the Count of *Tullies* letters to them: not so much for the *Reason* or *Rhetorick* in them; but for the authority of the writer of them: an Army is a shrewd *Topick-place*, for to draw arguments from; it perswades terribly. The *Germanes* were very well able to distinguish of the *obedience* unto *Cesar*, which *Tilly* advised them to have regard unto. The *thing*, they were willing withall; it was their duty; but the *degree of obeying*, was that which most troubled them: What *Tully* called *obedience*, they feared might prove *slaverie*; they found a contestation in themselves, betwixt the keeping of their *obedience*; and the preservation of their *liberties*; and how these two might possibly hold long together, was a difference which they had not yet reconciled. Thus hath it oftentimes fallen out in the *Empire*; divers *Common-wealths* there, having great *priviledges*, they will league one with another, and struggle hard to preserve them: so that when ever *Cesar* hath projected great desires, then began the conflict. Better therefore (even for both parties) is a *Monarchie*, then such an *Empire*. This was the purpose of the *Generall* letters unto their assembly.

MY LORDS, &c.

Tullies Letter.

I Have, to my great wonderment, received newes of late, of that generall meeting of certaine *Protestant Electors*, *Princes*, and *States*, at the towne of *Leipsich*: and how they have with one consent there agreed, to raise a common and a mighty Army among them all; that they have already gotten together

together a great power, and have more forces dayly in levying. Now, that these preparations of those Princes, could not but with great danger be promoted; and must of necessity be the causes of a great distraction, they all knew: seeing that all private armings which were undertaken without the consent of the Emperor, did not only occasion many a sinister suspicion among the people; but were flatly likewise forbidden to be made, by the fundamentall Constitutions of the Empire. Having assurance, therefore, of their present consultation at *Hamborow*, for the best way of subjoining unto the said *Diet of Leipsich*; he could not but advise them friendly, that in their said consultation, they would make this the chiefest of their thoughts, how they might preserve their faith and obedience unto *Cesar*. His advise unto them, therefore was, that they should be chary of withdrawing themselves from the Emperors service, who was their Sovereigne Magistrate: but that as faithfull and good Subjects, they should persevere rather in their due obedience; not suffering themselves to be drawne aside unto any contrary undertakings. He wisht them seriously to consider withall, how that as all their safeties and well-beings, did solely and wholly depend upon their Lord the Emperor: so on the contrary, was there nothing to be expected from other Princes (and from Forraigners especially, who meerly intended their owne private) but the losing of their priviledges and Commerce, the ruine of their States, and the necessary drawing on, of a publick servitude.

How frequently hath experience taught us, what miserable events hath unavoidably befallen those people, that have leagued against his Imperiall Maiestie; and had embroyld themselves in a warre against him. For these reasons he nothing hereafter doubted, but they would so well consider upon what might follow; that these his admonitions (which in the sincericy of his soule hee propounded unto them) should finde some place among their consultations: and that they should not hereafter need any other Monitor, so re-

member them of persevering in their due loyalty and obedience. This if they did, it would be a most strong recommendation of them; unto *Cæsar*; both to continue his grace and favour Imperiall unto them; to enfranchise them with more ample priviledges; and to doe any thing for the promoting, preserving, and enlarging, of their present conditions and commerees: For the doing of all which, their continuing in obedience; must needs give his Imperiall Maiestie a most large occasion.

May: 19. 1631.

Your very loving Friend
John Count of Tilly.

Who can blame an adversarie, for using the best Colours and flourishes he can finde, to carry his owne cause withall? And let this be the *glosse* to the Generall *Tillies* reasons, that they were pressed by an Enemie. However, their owne feares prevailed with them; and what they did next, they did more privately. Their wills were still good unto the Cause; and they underhand promoted the Decrees of *Leipsich*. Thus as the King of *Sweden* grew stronger, they grew more courageous: and when the Protestant Princes struck in also with them, then was there another assembly a little more boldly talkt upon.

Greene wood laid neere the fire, naturally shrincks up it selfe; contracts its owne pores and opennesse, by which the flame might enter it; that by a neerer uniting of its parts, it might prepare it selfe for resistance. The same operation had the burning of *Magdenburg*. (now newly this month done) upon these its neighbour and confederate Cities: it did as much arme, as terrifie them. The King of *Sweden*, also dayly more and more prevailing; some of the Princes of this *Circle*, began to take Commissions from him, to levie and arme for him: hee became the Protector of their publicke liberty;

liberty; and under him, they singly promoted their personal pretences. Duke *George* of *Lunenbourg*, as next heire to the Dukedome of *Brunswick*; (the present ruling Duke *Vrick*, having no likelyhood of issue,) hee armes to put in for that, which *Tilly* had almost devoured. The Archbishop of *Bremen*, had lost his towne of *Stoade*: and almost all his whole Countrey, was now possessed by Imperiall garrisons which *Tilly* had left there. Other Princes (yea all of them) had the same grievances: and all now resolved, to recover their Countries.

The Generall *Tilly* being throughly now defeated, as if the weight of his former reasons, had growne lighter with the decay of his power; the whole *Circle* in November following, appoint a more general meeting at the same *Hamborow*: whither all the Bishops, Princes and States either came, or sent their Ambassadors. Here they resolutely conclude for the levying of 3 new Regiments, upon the common charges of the *Circle*: the purpose being, to cleare the Countrey of the new encroached Imperiallists. The first Regiment was undertaken for, by the Archbishop of *Bremen*, the Duchy of *Lunenbourg* and *Zella-Brunswick*, with the Bishopricks of *Lubeck*, *Brunswick*, and *Hildesheim*. This was to consist of 1950 Foot, and 127 Horsemen. The second Regiment was to be raised by the Dukedome of *Mecklenburg*, the Countrey of the *Lower Saxonie*, the Bishoprick of *Ratzenburg*, and the Citie of *Lubeck*: which was to be 1675 Foot, and 366 Horse, strong. The third, which was to be 1448 Foot onely; was to be raised and paid by the Dukes of *Holstein*, and the Bishoprick of *Schwerin*. All these were to be joyned, to Duke *George* of *Lunenbourg*s owne Armie: hee being to be Generall over them.

The *Hamburgen* excused themselves, from bearing any part in these levyes; for that (as they said) they had very lately received some favours and priviledges from his Imperiall Majestie; who had newly honored their towne with the Title of an Imperiall Citie. Thus much also I take leave

to

The *Hamburgers* refuse to be against the Emperor:

by reason of their differences with the King of *Denmarke*.

The continuation of the siege of *Wismar*

to adde out of mine owne private observation. There was a difference now depending, betwixt his Majesty the King of *Denmarke*, and the *Hamburgers*; wherein the Emperour had already interposed his letters and authority: cired the Deputies of both parties, to appeare before the younger *Augustus* Duke of *Braunswick*, and *Lunenbourg*, and other his Commissioners, at *Lunenbourg* April the third, 1631. New style. The *Hamburgers* indeede appeared, but the King of *Denmarke* refused; and so the matter still hanging, the *Hamburgers* having continuall neede of the Emperours good favour; durst not engage themselves amongst those Princes, that so openly thus opposed him. The other Princes went on with their new levies: of all which, the Archbishop of *Bremen*, and *George* Duke of *Zella-Lunenbourg*, were most forward: both of which had received Commissions and instructions, from the King of *Sweden*.

The Archbishop of *Bremen* thereupon, levies in his owne Countrey: and the Duke of *Lunenbourg* goes to *Hamborow*, about monyes and Bills of Exchange; which tooke him up till mid-Januarie. Of both their commings into the field, we shall speake in their due places. And while they are at their levies; let us entertaine our Readers with what hapned in this *Lower Saxonie*, in the mean time; and that is the yeelding of *Wismar* and *Damitz*, unto the Dukes of *Mecklenbourg*.

How this strong *Hanse* towne of *Wismar*, had beene by *Adolph Frederick* Duke of *Mecklenbourg* besieged; we have told you page 83 of our *First Part*. *Rostock* being wonne, Generall *Todts* Army that had taken it, removed to *Wismar*, and sate downe before it, Colonell *Gram* commanded in the towne; who to hinder the *Swedish* and the *Mecklenburgers* working; sends out 1000 falliers, to beat the besiegers out of their *Approaches*. After a hard skirmish, and some slaughter, they are contented to retire againe into their Citie: first, having in this fally slaine Generall Major *Braimbarsh*, that then commanded in the *Approaches*.

Gram seeing his towne laid hard at, and no hope of succours;

courts; sends out to the Duke of *Mecklenburg*, to treat upon Conditions. These were his desires: That hee might have liberty to dispeed a Captain unto Lieutenant-Generall *Diepenbach*, to tell him what state the towne was in: and that there might be a Cessation of Armes till his returne with the Answer. A Councell of war being called in the leaguer, *Wismar* treats. *Grams* proposition was upon these termes assented unto.

1. That the towne Captaine should have a *Mecklenburgers* Trumpet, to goe along with him.

2. That this Captaine, was to have* three weekes allowed him for his returne; and if hee could not possibly make his journey in that time; then hee should have a moneth.

* Because hee was to goe as farre as *Bohemia*.

3. That the conditions of rendring the towne, should by *Gram* be consented unto, and under his hand and Seale, delivered to the Duke of *Mecklenburg*, before the Captaine should take his journey.

4. That in the meane time, there should be a Cessation of Armes both by Sea and Land, on both sides: and pledges given for it.

5. That during this truce, the besieged should containe themselves within their walls and Out-works, and the besiegers, in their Quarters: the one, not comming neerer to the Leaguer; nor the other, approaching no neerer to the towne.

6. That after the returne of the Captaine, *Gram* should immediatly deliver up the towne and out-works to the King of *Sweden*, and the Dukes of *Mecklenburg*: according to the agreements, before hand concluded upon.

7. But if in the meane time, the Fort called *The Whale*, should for want of victualls be enforced to surrender; the taking in of that, should be no breach of truce, or treaty.

This was much about the twentieth of our December: and whilest the Captaine is upon his way, the strong towne of *Damitz* was yielded up: and that we now turne to.

The place of it, is upon the very Southern Frontier of this

The siege of
Danzig upon
the Elbe.

Dukedome of *Mecklenburg*; neere unto the *March of Brandenburg*, next unto the *Lower Saxonie*: from which the river *Elb* onely parts it.

Tis a very strong place, and had beene long besieged by Colonell *Lohausen*: against whom Colonell *Strauben* with his owne, and some of the Duke *de Savellies* Regiment, very well defended it. The towne, at length, prettily thus betrayed its owne weaknesse, unto the Duke of *Mecklenburg*. *Strauben* upon the taking of *Rostock*, fearing that the Baron of *Virmond* would have come into his towne; and perchance have taken his command from him: writes a letter unto *Virmond*, to dissuade him. His reasons were, for that his Magazine was so empty, and his provisions so neere spent; that they would never maintaine both of them, a moneth together: so that he advised him to goe seeke some other Quarter. These letters fell into the Duke of *Mecklenburgs* hand: whereupon, the siege was more pressed and hastned. In the end, therefore, of December, was the rendring concluded upon, on these articles.

Yecld.d.

With the con-
ditions.

1. That the garrison should next day depart the towne, without carrying away any victualls or ammunition: without wronging the buildings, slighting any of the workes, or leaving any powder-mines or traines, in Cellars or other places.

2. That the Governour with all his owne souldiers and officers, and those of the Duke *De Savellis*, should freely march out of the Citie, with all their Armes and Baggage-wagons, Colours flying, Matches lighted, Bullet in the mouth: upon no pretence soever to be disturbed.

3. That they should by *Lohausens* men be convoyed unto *Munden* upon the *Weser*: and be secured against all molestations by the way, either by the Kings Forces, or any other his Allyes.

4. That they should have 15 Waggons, for the carrying away of their sick people.

5. That such Ecclesiasticall persons of the towne, as had a minde

minde to depart : should have free leave to goe themselves, and to carry away their *Church ornaments* with them.

6. That the prisoners, on both sides, should be set at liberty, without ransome.

7. Lastly, that two principall Officers of the Garrison, should be left for hostages with *Lobausen*, till the safe returne of his Convoiy.

Upon these conditions, was the towne rendred, 400 of the garrison, quitting their owne Ensignes, became soldiers unto *Lobausen*. Those that marcht towards the *Weser*, were in the end of Januarie after, met withall and cut in peeces by Generall *Baniers* men : as we shall anon tell you.

About the eighth of Januarie, the *Wismar* Captain, whom Governour *Gram* had sent to *Diepenbach*, againe returned : whereupon, Tuesday January the tenth ; was the towne rendred, upon the conditions before agreed. It chanced, that a *Swedish* Lieutenant, (one of those that was to convoiy *Gram* and his people into *Silesia* :) offered, upon the way, to debauch some of his soldiers from him. *Gram* was so incensed with the Lieutenant, for enticing away his men ; that bending his Pistoll upon him, hee shot him dead upon the place. Generall *Tods* (a fierce man) having notice of this feate ; and of a discovery of false play withall, that *Gram* (contrary to his covenants) had carried away 300 muskets in the straw and hay of his Baggage wagons ; and that he had pillaged some ships in the Haven ; and drowned some peeces of Ordnance, after the time of the agreement : he and *Lobausen* goe out after with a powder ; whom over-taking, they lay hold on, and send him and his *Commissarie* prisoners into *Gripfswald*. *Gram* was marcht out with almost 3000 men ; whom *Tods* now falling aboard with, kills 300 upon the place ; and so terrifies 2000 more, that to save their lives they became soldiers to the King of *Sweden*. The *Commissarie* offered 12000 Dollars for his ransome : but before hee gat out of *Gripfswald*, more perchanse were fetcht out of him. The *Swedes* found 20 last of gunpowder within *Wismar* :

Wismar yeel-
ded.

Upon occasion
of a quarrell
by the way:

Tods takes
Gram prisoner.

with great store of faire brasse-peecees, and militarie ammunition sufficient.

The Bishop of
Bremen rising.

Ted: goes to
him.

The Storie of
Magdenburg.

And thus the whole Dukedome of *Mecklenburg* being cleared of the Imperialists, and the *Walsteiners*; and the true Princes r'impatriate into their owne possessions: the Generall *Achatius Todt*, (after a while) goes with his Armie to the Bishop of *Bremen*: who having before risen with some fixe or 8000 men, and well recovered some of his townes againe: hee was now hard laid at by the Count of *Gronsfelt*, by whom, the townes of *Längwedel* and *Verden* were reprimed from him. But a more desperate Enemie was now comming upon him; *Pappenheim* was now entered upon the stage of this *Lower Saxonie*: and to him now turne wee.

HOW inhumane a devastation of that so ancient and goodly *Hanse* towne of *Magdenburg*, the Counts of *Tilly* and *Pappenheim* had lately made; we have in our *First Part* delivered. Of the cruelty of which fury, wee did not then, nor can doe now, discover the one halfe to you. A goodly Citie, reduced to such ruines: as if *Hannibal* had done it, and not *Tilly*: *Hannibal* (I say) who had the Art by fire and vinegar, to moulder away the rockes and mountaines into crumbles, for the forcing of his owne passage. Those that have since scene the 80 or 100 meaner houses, now onely (with the *Cathedrall*) left in *Magdenburg*: have admired not onely how the stone buildings, but the stones themselves (unlesse in some vast *Lime-kiln*) could possibly have beene turned into such savage and such rabbith. Tis my *Complaint*, this, not my *Declamation*. I know there is a sharpe *Latine* pen that hath laboured to excuse *Tilly* and *Pappenheim* upon it, and to charge the whole blame upon the Townsmen, and the *Administrator*. *Tilly* (hee sayes) offered them I know not how much mercy. If to offer a man *peace* with the losse of his *Freedom*: and *Religion*, be *mercy*: then must wee finde out another name for *oppression*. It was not their Emperour, that

that the *Magdenburgers* resisted: but his Sonne: might Prince *Rodolph William* the Emperours second Sonne, have beene Bishop of *Magdenburg*, and the alteration of Religion and old *customs* yeilded unto: then, upon those termes, might the *Magdenburgers* have had such a cruell mercie. That was the quarrell against *Magdenburg*: they had accepted of Prince *Christian William* of *Brandenburg*, a Protestant, and refused Prince *Rodolph William* of *Gratz*, a Catholicke: and this ruined them.

How willing that *Champion of Religion and of the Free townes*, the King of *Sweden* would have been to redeeme the City, may appeare by his printed *Apologie*. And to shew that this was in earnest, had he then been able, he now goes about it, so soone as he is: no sooner had the *Victory of Leipsich* made him both strong and famous, but hee devotes himselfe to the regaining of it. How the Generall *Banier*, had at the Kings comming away from *Hall* and *Leipsich*, beene left thereabout with order to invest *Magdenburg*: wee before pointed at, Page 28 of our *Second Part*. The Lord Marquesse of *Hamilton* likewise, then lying in the neighbour *March of Brandenburg*, had commission for the ioyning with *Banier* for the reducing of it. His Lordships Army artiuing in *Pomerland* in the beginning of August, presently did this service unto the King of *Sweden*, that it was confessed to be one of the occasions of the victory of *Leipsich*. The same of its being 20000 strong, hastned *Saxonie* to ioyne with the King, encouraged the whole Protestant Party: and made *Tilly*, besides, to leave his garrisons 6 or 8000 stronger then hee needed otherwise to haue done, who would have shrewdly troubled the King at that great Battell.

The *English Army* being landed at the *White-house* by *Wolgast*, August the second, lay there about 3 weekes or a moneth, for Arming and refreshing. Thence went they to *Ancklam*, *Vckermund*, and *Stetin*: about which they lay in Dorps some 3 weekes longer. Thence went they to *Dam*, *Grippenhagen*, *Konicksberg*, and *Custrine*: and some into

See Page 100
of our First
Part.

The L. Mar-
quesse Hamil-
ton, goes to
Magdenburg.

Franckford upon the *Oder*. Hence, after some 40 dayes, they went to *Moncheberg*, *Strausberg*, and *Bernaw*: all on the West of the *Oder*. Thence to *Spandaw* *Brandenburg*, and *Zerbst*: where they crost the *Elb*. Thence to *Kalbe* and *Salz*; and so to *Magdenburg*, a little before the middle of *November*.

The towne of *Magdenburg* had ever since a weeke before the *Battle of Leipsich*; beene entrusted with a great part of the riches and spoiles of warre, a long time prowled together, by *Tilly* and his Officers: who seeing the King would fight, had sent them into that place of safety. The Governour of it, was Count *Wolff* of *Mansvelt*: and his garrison, some 3000. The Lord Marquesse *Hamilton* and the Generall *Banier*, late downe to it; about the middle of *November*: their Quarters for the Foot-forces, being in two Dorps, about two *English* miles short of the towne, towards *Salz*; the *Elb* being on their right hand. Both the Generalls, were lodged in one of those villages, where the Foot lay: which were such decayed forsaken Cottages; that the houses were neither enow, nor sufficient, to keepe the men dry. And thus had *Tilly* left the Countrey. *Baniers* Horse were quartered in the next Dorps on the left hand of *Magdenburg*: the neereſt at the distance of an *English* mile; though their guards were neerer. Both Horse and Foot, might come to fixe or 7000 men. Workes they had none against the towne; but onely three Sconces: first, a greater one, upon the top of a hill, halfe an *English* mile from the Citie: secondly, another to guard the Avenue of their Quarter; and a third upon the right hand by the *Elbs* side, which was indeed never finisht. Generall *Banier* was for the most part in the Quarters: though now and then he made a posting voyage to *Hall*; 44 *English* miles to the Southward: where about this time his wife lay in; and *Baudissen* was one of his Gossips.

Peeces of service, there were onely these 2, all the time of the 7 weekes leaguer. The first was, (about the middle of the

the siege upon a little Island in the *Elb*: to which the townsmen used to send their Boats, a fuelling. This being observed, some *Dutch* Foot were sent out against them; betwixt whom fell a slight skirmish, not worth relating. The mischance was more remarkable, then the encounter: for that a sparke of fire lighting into the powder, in one of the *Dutch* boats; blew that up, and the assailants in it. The second service was towards *Christmas*, and by the horse: 300 of whom being put over to the further side of the *Elb*; there intercepted some of the towne garrison, that were sent over the bridge for forage.

Two slight skirmishes,

The towne, by *Christmas* eve, was brought to a *Parlie*, in which, had *Banier* beene as forward as my Lord Marquesse, the towne might have beene rendred. Three Commissioners were on both sides appointed for the treaty: a Colonel, a Lieutenant-Colonel, and a Sergeant-Major. The Lieutenant-Colonel, sent from the Besiegers, was named *Salomon Adams* (as I take it) who is now Governour of the towne: and the Majors name is *Chamberlaine*. The place of treaty was betweene the Quarters and the towne; each side bringing a guard of 100 foot, and 50 Horsemen. The conditions offered being something pressing; the towne Commissioners answered, that they were not as yet in such necessity: but if they might have faire termes, they would be willing to surrender. On Wednesday they met againe; but nothing was concluded: *Drummes* and *Trumpets*, going still betweene, from the towne unto the leaguer. The night following, there slippt two of *Pappenheims* horsemen into the towne; so that the Lord Marquesses Trumpet being next day sent in, with a full expectation to bring the newes of yeelding: the Count of *Mansfeld* returned this peremptory word by him, that he desired to be excused, he could not with his honour continue on the Treaty; for that he had intelligence that his succours were marching, *Pappenheim* would be there by such a day and houre; and that would he trust unto.

The towne Parties

Broken off, upon the newes of *Pappenheims* coming.

A Comfort, as cold as the season. Newes being still brought

The sieg le-
vyed.

Baniers feare.

brought of *Pappenheims* comming : upon *New-yeares* day would *Banier* needs be rising. Now hee beganne to shew himselfe, and his Commission; by which hee was not to fight, to the hazard of the Armie : whereupon depended the *Lower Saxonie*. The Lord Marquesse, (as his Captaines now in towne justifie it to me) was very loath to have risen : but *Banier* now countermanding all counsailes, drew off his men the same evening, and hastned towards *Salz* upon the West side of the river *Sala*, seaven English miles South of *Magdenburg*. The *English* and *Scottish* being too weake to abide *Pappenheim*, were faine to goe along too : and *Banier* thinking not himselfe sure enough at *Salz*; went next evening sixe miles more southerly, unto *Kalbe*; upon the same river. Beyond the towne on the other side the *Sala*, are there some strong *Workes* : for the guarding of the towne and *Passe*, which is of good importance. Into these, *Banier* now drew his men over the Bridge : see now, who was most frighted. The *English* and *Scottish* with foure *Dutch* Companies of Sir *Alexander Leslies*, Generall-Major to the Lord Marquesse) staid within the towne upon the other side, next unto *Magdenburg*. *Banier* sent to the Lord Marquesse, to draw over towards him: threatning if he would not, to burne the bridge, and to leave him to the mercy of the Enemy. He told the Lord Marquesse also, that he would blow up his house in *Calbe*, which he was quartered in, so soone as ever he were come out of it. This house was a good high one, and next unto the *River* : out of the windowes whereof, (tis supposed) *Baniers* feare was, that the Enemies Muskettiers might play into his *Workes*, and annoy his people. The *Passe* being viewed by Sir *Iacob Absle* : he assured my Lord Marquesse, that hee might safely march away in a quarter of an houres warning, in despite of *Pappenheim* and his Army. The Lord Marquesse also by the sight of it being confirmed, refused to goe over the Bridge to *Banier*, but staid here with his men, till after *Pappenheims* quitting of *Magdenburg*; they went thence unto *Halberstat*. And thus
came

The Actions of the Lower Saxonie.

III

came this second endeavour of relieving *Magdenburg* unto nothing. Whether it were *Baniers* feare, or *Commission*, that left *Pappenheim* a faire way, to come into it, I know not: this is sure; that no sooner were the *Besiegers* gone, but he entered into the towne: and to him now turns our *Story*.

Pappenheim
comes into
Magdenburg.

How the *Catholicke Leaguers* in their *Diet* of *Ingolstat*, did in *December* conclude upon the setting forth of a flying *Armie*, under the command of *Godfrey Count* of *Pappenheim*: you may see *Page 123* of our *Second Part*. His monies for the levie, were mostly made over to *Cullen*: thither went himsele in person, a little after the *Battle* of *Leipsich*. He was to be *Lieutenant-Generall*, for the *Lower Saxonie*; and the *Count* of *Gronsfelt*; whom *Tilly* with some small forces, had lately left about the *Weser*, was to be his *Feld-Marshal*. Some *Commissions* had before his coming, beene given out for *Regiments*: as to *Lambo*, *Quade*, *Afchenburg*, *Ohr*, *Nienhausen* and *Palant*, all *Colonels*. Part of *Lambo's* Horse *Regiment* gathered out of *Luickland*; himsele saw mustered before him at *Cullen*, in the beginning of *December*: but being neither compleat nor armed; it went not along with him. *Nienhausen* that was *Amptman* of *Steuerswald* by *Hildesheim*: had not a long time after gotten up above 300 *Foot*, and 150 Horse. *Palant*, was to have a double *Regiment*, of Horse and *Foot*: Two Horse-*Regiments* of *Westerholt* and *Westphalia*, were said to be already in *Munsterland*: so that none of all these went now along with him into *Brunswickland*.

And yet he even now, promised to relieve *Magdenburg*; and about the middle of *December*, he sets out from *Cullen* to *Wolfenbuttle* in *Brunswickland*: 44 *English* miles, to the Southwest of *Magdenburg*. Thitherward hee goes, onely with his owne private retinue: not so much as with a *Coronet*, or a *Company*. For the patching up of his *Armie*, hee was to lighten the garrisons of *Brunswickland*: out of every one of which, these were his proportions. Out of *Nienburg* on the *Weser*, hee drew 300 *Foot*, of young *Tillies* *Regi-*

P p

ment,

ment, the Governour of *Ingolstat*: which were commanded by his Lieutenant Colonell *Steven Andreas*. Out of *Minden* and *Hamelen*, each 300, of *Gronsfeldts* Regiment: commanded by Captaine *Seubersdorff*. Of *Blankharts* Regiment, he had 300: and as many out of *Kalenberg*, *Nienstetle*, and *Steinbrug*: commanded by Captaine *Pop*. Out of *Goettingen* had he 400 of old *Tullies* Regiment: commanded by *Wilich*. Out of *Wolfenbuttle*, 1000: halfe belonging to Count *Gronsfeldt*, and halfe to Baron *Glein*, Governour of the towne. *Glein* went along with his part: and Captaine *Scharffsieder* led the other moiety. Lastly, he had 7 Ensignes or 300, which wee told you came out of *Damitz*: which belonged to Baron *Loebel*, a Counsellour of Warre to the Emperor: who being not there, they were led by *Stander*, his Lieutenant-Colonel. These were in all 3200. Cornets of Horse, he had 25: whereof, of *Bonickhausens*, 12: Of *Horsts*, 8, and of *Lintls* 5, in all about 1500. Horse and Foot, in all: 4700.

Pappenheim, indeed, gave out himselfe to be 10 or 12000, and for so many hee commanded bread to be baked at *Wolfenbuttle*: and yet to conceale the finalnesse of his numbers, did hee never march from *Wolfenbuttle* unto *Magdenburg*, but in the night, and in divided Companies.

There had particular intelligence beene sent out of *Kalenberg* to the Generall *Banier*, of the finalnesse of *Pappenheims* Armie: and the Prince of *Anhalt* (as I heare) offered to lay his owne head, to a Dollar, if he were 5000 men. But Duke *Fredericke Vhrick* of *Brunswick* being deceived by *Pappenheims* Bakers, (who shewed Commissions to provide for 12000) writing to *Banier*, that he was indeed so strong: this was the thing that scared the *Swedish* Generall; who considered that the towne of *Magdenburg*, had 2900 more, to joyne with him.

His Commission (I heare) was not to fight, as little as *Baniers*: the chiefe of this his first expedition, being to spoile the workes, to fetch the goods and garrison out of *Magdenburg*: for which he was said, to have carried three or 400 Wagons

Wagons along with him. These Wagons served also to barricado the Armie on the wing: many of these having three or foure soldiers in them with *double bakes*: which are peeces that shoot sixe ounces bullet.

The weaker townes of the Duke of *Brunswicks*, betwixt *Wolfenbuttle* and *Magdenburg*; he now plunders: this was but to keepe his hand in ure, and for his recreation. *Helmstedt*, a towne and *Univerfity* 24 *Engliff* miles from *Wolfenbuttle*, is so served; after his lying foure dayes at it. Here he left *Loebels* seven Companies of 300 men. Thence goes hee to *Schoningen* 12 miles further: and so to *Carleben*; whence he thrusts into *Magdenburg*. There having a while refreshed his Army, hee divides his owne and *Manfelds* men, into two great Partees: which are sent severally abroad upon both sides of the river, for the speedier plundering of the Countrey.

Hee enters
Magdenburg:

No sooner were the Lord Marquesse *Hamilton*, and the Generall *Banier* gone out of *Salze*; but *Pappenbeims* men were the same day pillaging of it. *Froleben*, *Elendeleben*, *Bieren*, and *Altenfleben*, are made prey of: and so is *Mulingen* Castle; the Court and Residence of the Count of *Barby*. On the Easterne side of the *Elb*, is the Baron of *Glein* (Governour of *Wolfenbuttle*) sent out, with some fixe troopes of Horse, and 1500 or 2000 Muskettiers.

and sends out
2 Partees. to
plunder the
Countrey.

He goes or sends first, to *Gomeren*; 8 *Engliff* miles South-East of *Magdenburg*. This Partee of his makes towards *Barby* towne, within two miles of *Calbe*: where (if we will believe *Gallobelgicus*) they were very strangely frighted. The plunderers (as they thought) discerned a great many fires about the towne: which they supposed to be so many *Courts of guard*: and that the *Swedish*, in this neereneffe to *Kalbe*, had beene there enquartered. The townes-men hearing afterwards, by what apparitions their towne had beene preserved; concluded verily (sayes hee) that it was a guard of Angells, which had thus scared away their Enemies. Those of our nation, then hard by *Barby*, never heard of this *Ignis fatuus*:

fatum : this, indeed, was upon our *Twelve day* ; and yet, I beleeve nothing of this *Theophania*, these *divine apparitions*.

Some thing there might be in it : divers of our nation of Caprain *Dowglass* Company, lying that night at *Rosenberg*, (within sight of *Barby*) for the guard of the baggage ; set, by mischance, a Gentlemans house and another, on fire : which is likeliest to be the fires, imagined.

He forsakes
Magdenburg.

January the seaventh, does *Pappenheim* draw out of *Magdenburg* : not as my last quoted Author delivers, for that hee had newes of the Duke of *Lunenbourg* ; threatening to besiege *Wolfenbüttel* : for (plainely) neither this Duke nor his Brother, had as yet any one man levyed. *Pappenheim* and *Manfeld* having concluded, first that *Magdenburg* was not to be maintained ; and secondly, that the whole Countrey was more to be considered, then that one ruinated Citie ; they had now resolved upon leaving of it. *Pappenheim* had done what he came for, and what should he stay there, longer ? Having therefore charged all the goods he came thither for, upon his Waggon ; he sends them onward with his Foot, towards *Wolfenbüttel*. The Ordnance which he had resolved to carry along with him, it seemes he wanted horses for : seeing 18 of these were found standing upon the Market place ; with their harness or traice cut, after the draught-horses had bene put to them.

Out of *Magdenburg* carried he these Forces. Of Colonel *Brenners* Regiment, 10 Companies, or 1500. Of Marquesse *William of Baden*, 8 Companies, or 650. Of *Cratz* his Regiment 5 Companies, about 150. Of *Goltz* his Regiment, 500. Besides these, were 3 troopes of horse ; one, of *Manfelds* owne guards, and the other 2 of *Crabats* : but all so weake, that those three could not make up a hundred. In all, 2900 : 1000 of which, he againe put into *Wolfenbüttel*.

The *Pappenheimers* save
the *Swedish*,

Pappenheim was gone almost 2 dayes, before the Lord Marquesse or *Banier* had notice of it. Whilst his Foot and Baggage, were marching away, some troopes of his horse made a Brave upon the *Swedish* before their Quarters. A faire

Compagnia

Compagnia there is betwixt *Salz* and *Kalte*; and a hill in it within halfe an *English* mile of this latter. Upon that, did some of them make a muster of themselves; stood still, and gazed upon the *English* and the *Scottish*: whom my Lord Marquesse now commanded to be drawne cut into *Battaglia*; *Banier* likewise having sent over some sixe or seaven troopes of Horse and Dragooners. Two houres, they stood looking thus one upon another: without exchanging so much as one bullet, betweene them. The *Pappenheimers*, it appears, meant not to make a businesse of it; but did it only to amuze their Enemies: either whilest their Foot and Baggage, might get the more time to march away; or that their other fellowes, might in the meane time, plunder some of the neighbour Dorps, undisturbed. After two houres, these Horse marcht off quietly, and followed after their Armie unto *Wolfsenbuttle*. but march a way without doing any thing.

Pappenheim leaving *Magdenburg*, did not commit that spoile and barbarisme, upon the towne, as was reported. Part of the bridge (some say) he burned: though others say twas burnt before. Some Boats and Mills hee spoiled in the river, and blew up some of the Works. Of Ordnance, he left 18 (as was said) upon the Market place, 19 he drowned in the *Elb*; 2 he blew up with gunpowder, and left above 40 upon the walls. Three hundred *Quintalls* of gunpowder (each *Quintall* being 100 pound weight) hee left behinde him, which had it not beene concealed from him: he would, surely, have put fire unto, or have carried away with him. A world of *Match* was there left; and of *Corne*, *Pease* and *Oates*, great plenty: And all this was found in it, when as upon the Munday, after *Pappenheims* going; my Lord Marquesse entered it. The Generall *Baniers* Army, staid about *Kalbe*, till Duke *William* of *Saxon-Weymar* came into those parts to joyne with him, to pursue *Pappenheim*: and my Lord Marquesses men, till towards the end of the moneth, that they went towards *Halberstate*: Their way lay Westward; by *Egelan*, 16 miles; thence to *Cruningen*, 12 miles: My Lord Marquesse enters *Magdenburg*.
He and *Banier*, part companies.

Hee going to
the King of
Sweden.

whence 6 miles further unto *Halberſtat*; where they ſtaid above a quarter of a yeare for the guard of the towne and Countrey, till ſuch time as they were taken on by Duke *William*: as in the Kings Story we have told you. From *Halberſtat*, upon the firſt of February, went the Lord Marqueſſe towards the King of *Sweden*: with whom the 11 of the ſame moneth he arrived. His Lordſhip (as I have heard Sir *Jacob Aſpley* tell, who in that journey waited upon him) was very graciouſly entertained by the King: a concluding argument, that what his Lordſhip had undertaken, was very well accepted. The King of *Sweden* (beſides his freedome of language, wherein he uſed not to be ſparing againſt whatſoever had diſpleaſed him:) had a Spirit, withall, ſo highly mounted above all diſſembling, that it ſcorned to ſpeake, or to looke, boory.

Pappenheim
goes from
Wolfenbuttle.

The Count of *Pappenheim* being arrived at *Wolfenbuttle*, about the 11 or 12 of January, he leaves the luggage brought out of *Magdenburg*, in this ſtrong Citie; and 1500 or 2000 men with the Lord of *Glein*, to defend it. This towne, was ſometimes the Court and Reſidence of the Dukes of *Brunſwick*: untill *Tilly* of late yeares, had taken it from the King of *Denmarke*: and thruſt Duke *Vrick* thence; by the unruleneſſe of an Imperiall garrifon. For the Duke perceiving he had no command over his ſubjects, by reaſon of the garrifon: ſo ſoone as ever hee had conſented to the Diet of *Leipſich*; pretending one morning to goe a hunting, he went to reſide in *Brunſwick* towne; and never ſince that time, returned into *Wolfenbuttle*.

About the middle of the moneth, the Count of *Pappenheim* ſets forward into the Countrey of *Lunenbourg*: whoſe eldeſt Duke but being unmarried, the 2 Dukedoms of *Zella-Lunenbourg* and of *Brunſwick*, with the great Biſhoprick of *Hildesheim*: are all likely to fall to Duke *George*, who will then be one of the greateſt Princes of *Germany*. *Chriſtian* of *Zella-Lunenbourg*, is now heire apparent unto the childleſſe *Vrick* of *Brunſwick*, before-named. Before his going, hee ſends

sends to the Imperiall towne of *Brunswick*; seaven *English* miles downe the same river of *Onacre*, with *Wolfsenbuttle*, to the Northward. His demand was, to be by that Citie furnished with a *Viaticum*, or proportion of provisions for his journey. This being a very strong towne, which the Dukes of *Brunswick*, (though often they have attempted it) could never make themselves Masters of: had the courage to denie him this motion.

Now marches hee up into *Lunenburg*; and of that Duke hee demands Contribution; and that his strong towne of *Zel* upon the river *Alre*, should take in a garrison from him. towards Lunenburg. There be five Brothers of these Dukes of *Lunenburg* (as I heare) and all unmarried except Duke *George*. The eldest, I have before named: The second Brother, is Duke *George*, the man now comming upon the stage of warre; for which purpose hee was at this instant at *Flamboyow*, about his *Bills of Exchange*, and getting up of monies. To Duke *Christian* was *Pappenheim* said to write his letters, to this purpose. That he should send Commissioners to him, to agree upon his Contributions: labour to hinder the levies of his brother *George*: and if he could not that way prevaile with him, hee should either arrest his body, and keepe it safely in *Zel*; or else send that and the men hee had begun to levie, into his Armie. Some speake of *Pappenheim*s threatning to besiege *Zel*: but this the Duke (perchance) would not be much afraid of: his towne being very neere as strong as *Wolfsenbuttle*. To be briefe, the Duke excusing himselfe, that he had no power over his brother, agreed with *Pappenheim* to give him 40000 Dollars monethly contribution. This was the Dukes cheapest course; for he well knew that *Pappenheim* could never stay to take up the first payment of it: Duke *William* of *Saxon-Weymar*: the *Landgrave* of *Hessen*, and the Generall *Banier*, the Duke understood to be all at this instant comming against *Pappenheim*, so that he knew he could never be able to tarry in his Countrey.

Writes to Lunenburg.

and compels with him.

And but for this, *Pappenheim* had the best of *Lunenburg*:
for

Avoiding out
of the Coun-
treys,

he passes be-
yond the *Weser*.

300 Imperia-
lists defeated.

for that he had already nestled himselfe in the *Freyheit*, (or *Freedom*) the strongest part of the Dukes Country. His way to it from *Wilsenburtle*, was to *Steinbruck*, on the river *Fuse*, 18 *Englisb* miles from *Wilsenburtle*. Thence passing by *Hannover*, 30 miles further, he settles himselfe at *Betterlo* in the *Freyheit*, 10 *Englisb* miles from the river *Weser*. A place it is, to the North of *Hannover*; having a pretty strong Castle by it: both round encompassed with 2 woods, the 2 rivers *Aller* and *Leine*; divers ditches and Morasses; so that there is but hard comming at it. But here could he not stay above 5 or 6 dayes; for that hearing by this time, of the Generall *Todes* taking of *Wismar*; and his comming (or about to come) over the *Elb*, to the defence of the Bishop of *Bremen*, and Dukes of *Lunenbourg*: as also of Duke *Williams*, *Hessens*, and *Baniers* approaching, on the other side upon him: he fearing to be driven up into the middle betwixt them; makes with all speed towards the strong towne of *Hamelen* upon the *Weser*. He had a good mind (it appeared) to have lived with his Army till the Spring, in the *Lunenburgers* Countrey: but fore-dooming, by the preparations, that these winter-moneeths might prove hotter to him then the Dog-dayes: that was the reason that he by *Hamelen* passed over the *Weser*, to Quarter himselfe in a quieter Countrey.

And twas time for him, to get *Hamelen* upon his backe: upon which, his enemies would else have beene. Wee told you before of the comming of 300 Imperialists under 7 Ensignes out of *Damitz*: these, at this instant, comming out of *Helmsfat* (where at his going to *Magdenburg*, we told you he had left them) towards *Hamelen* to joine with *Pappenheim*; were met wicthall by a Partee of 150 Horse of Generall *Baniers*; and cut all in peeces, or made turne to the *Swedish* party. The reason that facilitated this defeat, was, for that they thought themselves so farre from enemies, and so secure in that neerenesse to *Pappenheim*; that they marcht without burning matches. This towne of *Hamelen* is seated upon the Easterne and *Brunswicker* side, of the famous river of *Weser*: betwixt

betwixt it and the mountaines. *Pappenheims* march thither, lay directly to the Southward, through the Counties of *Hoy* and *Schawenburg*. Passing the *Weser* at this *Hamelen* to the South, and *Westphalian* side of it : hee in the end of Januarie, strikes up to the Westward, into the County of *Lemgow* : for there and in the neighbour Counties of *Waldeck*, *Lippe*, and *Ravensperg*, his purpose was to have lodged his divided Armie : and to recruit it by the Spring time, with new levies. He had not beene gone a full weeke, but that his Commissary-Generall *Lirchenfelt*, sent him advise from *Hamelen*; that Duke *William Weymar*, the Landgrave of *Hessen*, and the Generall *Banier*, were all conjoynd about *Hildesheim* and *Calenberg* : some of their troopes being within a dayes march of *Hamelen*. This causes *Pappenheim* to counter-march : and to draw out the garrison, which hee had lately thrust into the towne of *Lemgow*, and to put it into *Hamelen* to strengthen it. Leaving him, for the present, about *Hamelen*, *Rintelin*, and those other many good townes upon the Westerne banke of the *Weser* : let us goe back, a while, to bring his adversaries into the Cockpit to him. *Todt, Bremen, Lunenburg, William Weymar, Hessen, and Banier* : all fixe were now comming against, or upon poore *Pappenheim*; and yet he shifted among all of them : yea not shifted only, but gat now and then, the best of some of them.

Pappenheim
going to en-
quarter his
Army beyond
the *Weser*,

is sent for
backe to *Ha-
melen*.

The Generall *Sir John Banier*, after that *Magdenburg* was taken some order for; and a small garrison left to defend and helpe the poore people, which from all the parts of their banishment, began now to returne homewards to their owne Citie : advances to joyne himselfe with Duke *William* of *Saxon-Weymar*. This Duke having Commission from the King, to recover the townes in that corner of the *Lower Saxonie*, next unto his *Duringen, Magdenburg*, the river *Weser*, and the land of *Hessen* : sets out from *Erfurt* about the tenth of Januarie, to march thitherward. His course lay full Northward; where first he comes to *Marischfeld* : the chiefe towne of the County of that name. Thence

Banier,

and Duke *Wil-
liam*.

Ioyne forces.

* The towne of *Hamelen*, belongs halfe unto the Duke of *Brunswick*, and halfe unto the Bishop of *Hildesheim*: but of late dayes, wholly unto *Braslaw*: which was also Bishop of *Hildesheim* untill these last wars: in which it was wrung away from the Duke, and given unto the Bishop of *Cullen*: who is also Bishop of *Leige*, *Munster*, and *Paderborn*: Duke of *Westphalia*, *Angaria*, &c. Marquesse of *Franchiment*, &c.

The Landgrave of *Hessen* comes against *Pappenheim*.

(as I find) he marcht to *Quedlenburg*: an *Improprate Abby*, now belonging to a Lady *Abbesse*, a *Protestant*. Thence advances hee to *Osterwick* in the Bishoprick of *Halberstat*, 40 *English* miles due West of *Magdenburg*: and there, about the 22 of January, does the Generall *Banier* joine with him. This *Osterwick* is just 20 *English* miles short of *Wolfenbuttle*, upon a branch of the same river with it: and was the Generall *Baniers* direct way, to goe after *Pappenheim*.

They being thus conjoynd; send first of all their Partees up and downe the Countrey towards the *Weser*: both for scouring of the coasts thereabouts, as also to make the *Landgrave* of *Hessens* passage, the easier to come unto them. And now it is, that *Baniers* men defeated 300 of *Loebels* Regiment: which Page 118. we told you were going out of *Helmstat* towards *Hamelen*. And this *Hamelen* (belonging of right unto the Duke * of *Brunswick*) these three Generalls thought at this time to have besieged: but besides the great raynes, and low situation of the place, (which rendred it unapproachable) *Pappenheim* (as we told you;) had even now thrust more succours into it, out of *Lemgo*. Hereupon, doe the 3 Generalls divide their forces: the *Landgrave* of *Hessen* setting him down to the siege of *Goettingen*, (a towne sometimes the Duke of *Brunswick*, lying upon the river *Rhuma*, 14 or 15 *English* miles to the East of the river *Weser*.) And Duke *William* and *Banier*, going to the siege of *Goslar*, an Imperial towne betwixt the Bishopricks of *Hildesheim* and *Halberstat*, 40 *English* miles to the North-East of *Goettingen*. But before we tell of these sieges, we must step a little aside to the South-west-ward, to fetch the *Landgrave* of *Hessen* into the Countrey.

This Prince, having received intelligence, that the townes which hee had lately taken in the Bishoprick of *Paderborn*, (as in the former *Story* of his *Actions* we have told you) did now upon his absence with the King of *Sweden*, and the comming of *Pappenheim* into *Brunswickland*, and towards the *Weser*, (on the West and South of which, *Paderborn* is) refuse

refuse their promised Contributions: hee in the end of December, taking leave of the King, makes that wayward with his Army, to recover them. Before the middle of Januarie, he had reprimed *Warburg*: whereinto *Pappenheim* had newly thrust a garrison of nine hundred. The towne hee tooke by *Storme*; and all that resisted, died for it. Thence advances he to *Stathagen*: which terrified by the former example, yeelds to him. And so does *Volckmarsen*; with some other *Strengths* thereabouts, of smaller consequence. Having againe thus scummed over the frontiers of *Paderborn*, hee passes the river *Wefer* and besieges *Goettingen*; as we before told you. To the reliefe of this towne, when *Pappenheim* upon his coming to *Hamelen*, sent some troopes; they were defeated by some of Duke *Williams* and *Baniers* Horse *Parties*, that scoured up and downe the Countrey.

But *Pappenheim* was not long unrevenged for this: for that in the beginning of this February, having gotten notice by a Boore, how that Colonel *Lau* (*Laurence*) *Cag* a Swede, and Sergeant-Major-Generall; was with 3 new and weake Regiments of Dragooners, of about 1500 men, lodged neere unto *Hoxter* and *Corvey* by the *Wefer*; some 20 *English* miles to the South of *Hamelen*: he hastens thitherward to defeat them. He had before this, taken a *Swedish* Lieutenant, whom he kept prisoner with him. Being ready to march, in the morning before day-light; Come, up, (say the *Pappenheimers* to the Lieutenant) you must along with us, to the throat-cutting of your Countrymen. And indeede they were as good as their words: for that *Pappenheim* falling into their Quarters about 12 a clock, (which was the usuall houre, that hee still observed) hee cut in peeces the most of these Dragooners, or forced them into the river and *Morasses*: where twas easie to kill them, that were first buried.

The Ensignes of these Dragooners, *Pappenheim* made a glorious flourish withall, at his returne againe to *Hamelen*: and all to magnifie his victory. Twas a notable ingenious crafty Generall, this *Pappenheim*: for having thus cleared

Hoxter; he would send his men along the *Weser* side, betwixt *Hamelen*, *Munden*, and *Hoxter*; who should goe over the bridges, and so come round about againe. And thus did some one Regiment walke the round, two or three times over; and all this was to make shew, as if every one of these Regiments had bene new forces comne to him, out of *Waldeck*; and to make a noise of a great Armie, among the Boores, that the *Swedish* Generalls might heare of it, and be terrified.

But for all these cracks and flourishes, and his giving out himselfe to be 10 or 12000 Foot, and 5000 Horse, when he was not above 10000 in all; yet durst hee not appeare in *Campagna*; nor goe very farre from the banks of the *Weser*; so that the *Swedish* Generalls, went thorough, well enough, with their two sieges.

Goslar, taken
by Duke *William*
and *Banier*;

The towne of *Goslar*, is Imperiall; and the Magistrate there, was altogether for the Emperor: other garrison then of the towne, I finde none in it. There needed no streighter a siege, then the blocking first; and the presenting of the grosse of the Army before it, afterwards: for the Magistrate sent to compound for 10000 Dollars with the Generalls; and received 1000 of Colonell *Mitzlaffs* Regiment, in to them, for a garrison. From hence, goes the Army unto *Northeim*; a towne upon the river *Rhuma*, some 12 English miles short of *Goettingen*.

with other
townes.

This is a towne of no garrison, nor resistance: for that the Generall *Tilly* had heretofore dismanted it; and slighted downe the Fortifications. This were they comne unto before the 20 of this February. Then take they in *Northen*; midway betwixt *Northeim* and *Goettingen*. In Quarters about this last towne, had the *Landgrave* laid this whole fortnight: not so much, to offer any battery to it; but so to block it up, that he might withall have an eye to *Pappenheim*. But now was the siege begun, in good earnest. Colonell *Carthaus* commanded in the towne, and his garrison was some 900: good store of small peeces he had besides, with victualls and ammunition

ammunition to have held out longer. The *Swedish* bring forward 2 severall *Approaches* : and after 2 breaches, they cause the towne at both these places to be stormed. This whilest the *Swedish* are in good earnest about to doe, they cause false offers and *Scaladoes*, to be made shew of in other parts: the more to divert the defendants from their breaches. The towne is by force entred, and *Carthaus* with his Officers flinging downe their Armes, are taken prisoners : and the houses plundered. Here were above 100 Field peeces, *Mortars*, and Sling peeces, made prize of : 7000 weight of musket bullet, with powder, match, and ammunition proportionable. *Ericksburg* Castle (a very strong place, belonging to the Bishoprick of *Hildesheim*, so named of Duke *Erick* of *Brunswick*, the builder of it) is likewise yeilded upon composition, For the too sudden rendring of this Fort, was Captaine *Wolff* of the Regiment of *Blanckhart* ; by *Pappenheim* afterwards imprisoned. Upon the taking of this Castle, *Wolff* did the townes of *Peyne*, *Hafetrode*, and *Duderstat*, upon the North side of the Bishopricke of *Hildesheim*, come in : which a Captaine of *Blanckharts* Regiment, now yeilded ; thus all was cleare on that side, even to *Lunenburg*, *Bremen*, and the *Elb* streame. By the winning of *Goettingen* also, are the other smaller townes about *Duderstat* brought in with little trouble, which lies betwixt that and *Duringen*. And thus was all that you see in the Map of *Brunswick* and *Magdenburg* (excepting *Duderstat* and the town of *Wolfenbustle*) become *Swedish* : even from the *Upper Saxonie* on the East side ; unto the river of *Weser*, on the West side of the Countrey : as also North and South from *Duringen* unto *Lunenburg*, and the *Middle Marke* of *Brandenburg*.

And this was done by the 25 of our February : about which time Duke *William*, and the Generall *Banier*, were sent for unto the King of *Sweden*: even then upon his march into *Bavaria*, *Banier* (as I take it) set forward a little before Duke *William* : and hee recovered up unto the King, by the tenth of March following. The Duke staid something longer,

Goettingen taken,

With Ericksborg Castle.

And the whole Country cleared.

Duke William and Banier, sent for unto the King.

about feeling of the Country; and to bring off the *Landgrave* of *Hessen*: who being after their going, too weak to encounter *Pappenheim*; was enforced to turne over the *Weser* againe, into his owne Countrey. Here, though he recovered *Munden* and *Amoenenburg*: yet now was *Pappenheim* loose againe: and hee not long after followed him into his owne *Hassia*.

* He was now
pistolld by Co-
lonell *Overs-*
lack, upon a
quarrell,

Pappenheim
comes abroad
againe;

and recovers
Ericksburg,

and *Eymbeck*.

In this meane time, had *Pappenheim* dispatched the Count of *Gronsfeld* and *Vander-Naerssen* Baron * of *Virmont*, (late Governour of *Rostock*) unto the *Elect*or of *Cullen*; for the speeding of those levyes and Commissions, which at his owne late comming from *Cullen*, had been left vnperfected. Hereupon, the Regiment of *Giles de Haes* going towards him; was beaten backe by the Boores of *Marckland*; who refused him passage thorough their Countrey. However, some good Recreuts he obtained in the Countrey of *Waldeck*, and the Bishoprick of *Paderborn*: as many as made him up an Army of 10000 marching men, compleatly.

Being thus both re-enforced, and let loose; hee in the beginning of March, puts into the field againe, to the Eastward of the *Weser*. About the tenth of the moneth, hee layes siege to *Ericksburg* Castle in the *Hunifruck*, before spoken of. This he tooke within a few dayes; and here found hee five faire Brasse pieces, which hee tooke along with him. Thence goes hee to *Eymbeck*, a good towne some 3 Dutch leagues or 15 *English*, (for the leagues be long in this Countrey) to the East of *Ericksburg*, and by the river *Rhuma*. Of this towne, hee demands admission; and provisions for his Armie: both which, the *Burgers* upon confidence of assistance from the Duke of *Lunenbourg*: at first denied him. But perceiving their Enemies to be neerer then their succours; they thought better upon a bad motion, and accepted of as good as 2 of his Regiments; being glad, besides, to redeeme their formall deniall, by a ranfome of 20000 *Dollars*. The Forces that *Pappenheim* now put into *Eymbeck*, were 5 Companies of *Gratz* his Regiment: 120 of *Goltz* his people:

people: with some Commanded men of the Count of *Cronsfelds*, come out of *Wolfenbuttle*, and commanded by Capitaine *Gries*. This was done about the 18 or 20 of our March. Till the money were paid, he caused some of the richer Burgers, to follow his Army: and a good part of their Ordnance, Victualls, and Ammunition, he sends upwards into *Wolfenbuttle*, for the strengthening of that, and the Baron *Gleiner* in it: for that he feared it might shortly be besieged, by *Tods* and *Lunenbourg*.

And now turnes he due Northward, into the Bishoprick of *Hildesheim*. In the way thitherward, hee defeats some *Hassian* troupes, which the *Landgrave* had left about *Budenberg*: a little short of *Hildesheim*; which should have come to have strengthened *Eymbeck*. The Citie of *Hildesheim* seeing him coming; admit of a garrison of 1000 *Lunenburghers* (of *Petars* and *Marrads* Regiments, as I take it:) by which meanes that towne was secured, and his summons, utterly denied. However, the weaker townes in the Bishoprick, he does what he pleases withall; and makes use of what provisions, Duke *William* and *Banier* had left unto the people. The good towne of *Hanover* upon the river *Leine*, and marches in the Dukedome of *Brunswick*, 5 leagues to the Northwest thorough *Hildesheim*, entertaines 800 *Lunenburghers*, and puts it selfe into a posture of resistance. *Goslar* having 1000 of *Mitzlaffs* people in it; prepares also for opposition: so that there was no going that way into the Bishoprick of *Halberstat*.

The strong towne of *Zell* upon the river *Aller*, in the Dukedome of *Lunenbourg*; was a pece of too hard digestion, to be suddenly swallowed: and therefore hee contents himselfe with a bit by the way at *Borchdorf*, some two leagues and a halfe to the Northeast of *Hanover*, to *Zellward*. A Partee of the *Pappenheimers*, here fall upon the towne; and upon Lieutenant-Colonell *Rusworm*, with five of his Companies in it. *Rusworm* is taken with diverse of his men; and some Ensignes: 50 men slaine upon the place; the rest routed; and the towne plundered. Thence passes he along

He defeats
some Hassians.

and marches
thorough
Hildesheim.

and Lunen-
burgland.

into the Bi-
shoprick of
Bremen.

along the Dukedome of *Lunenbourg*, by his old Quarters at *Betterlo*: beyond which, hee passes the river *Aller*, leaving *Zell* upon the right hand of him. But hee forgot not by the way, to pay himselfe some of those 12000 Dollars monethly contribution; which the Duke of *Zella-Lunenbourg*, at his former being in these parts had promised him: as Page 117 of this *Fourth Part*, we have told you.

And now is his purpose wholly for the delivry of the towne of *Stroade*, by the *Elbs* side in the Bishoprick of *Bremen*: his owne Uncle *Bicknicker* (as I heare) was now Governour in the towne; who with almost (if not full) 4000 men, were by this end of this April, blocked up by *Otto* (or *Achatius*) *Todt*; and Generall Major *Lobhansen*, with the *Lunenburgers* forces. But before we speake of this service, let us leave our *Pappenheim* upon his march thitherwards: and goe backe to fetch up *Todts* Story, to shew how he came into these quarters.

Generall *Todt*
comes into *Lun-*
enbourg land.

Wee told you Page 106 of this Booke, of his coming to the reliefe of the Bishoprick of *Bremen*: and hither let us now fetch up himselfe and forces. His march from *Wismar* which he last tooke (by which all the Dukedome of *Mecklenbourg* was cleared) lay to the Northeast, to the *Elbward*, quite thorow the said Duchie. On the *Mecklenburger* side of the *Elb*, towards *Hamborow*, is there a little cantlet of land, called the land of *Sachsen* or *Saxonland*: the Countrey (as I take it) of the Dukes of *Saxon Lawenburg*. In this land, were *Todts* Regiments a while enquartered: which staid not long there: but passed about *Lawenburg* over the *Elb*, and were drawne to *Bardewick* in *Lunenbourg* land; *Todt* himselfe going into *Lunenbourg*; about 10 or 12 *English* miles from *Lawenburg*, and 4 or 5 from *Bardewick*.

His Army consisted of *Swedes* and *Mecklenburgers*, and of some *English* and *Scottish* Regiments: Duke *George* of *Lunenbourg*s men, after a while coming also to him.

Of Sir *Thomas Conways* Regiment, himselfe, his Lieutenant-Colonell *Steward*, and 300 souldiers, were upon the
fifth

fifth of November cast away on the coast of *Norway*: the other five Colours with about 700 men; arriving upon the 27 of the same moneth, at *Warnemund* by *Rosstock*. The Sergeant-Major over these five Companies, was Captain *Thomas Grove*, who now commanded them. And all these about Christmas after, had order to march to *Wismar*. That being rendred (as Page 105 wee have told you) *Todt* and *Lohausen* with the *Swedes* and *Mecklenburgers*; (in all not above 4000 at the most) made haft towards *Lauenburg* on the *Elb*, some 50 *English* miles distant from *Wismar*. On Newyears day at night, the five *English* Colours (who marcht by themselves) were at *Sarmin* in *Mecklenburgland*. Wednesday January the 4, they marcht and met the three *Scottish* Regiments. Thence on Sunday to *Hagenow*, whence to *Boitzenberg* on the *Elb*, which river they crost at *Lauenburg*. Thence went they to be enquartered with the Army in *Bardewick*; a very fine towne (and sometimes a rich one) before spoken of. To this towne came some of the *Lunen-burgers* forces.

Sir Thomas Con-
wey drowned,
and his Regi-
ment landed.

About the time that Sir *Thomas Conways* five Ensignes came to *Warnemund*, did 5 of Sir *Frederick Hamiltons* Colours land also. They were *Scottish* and *Irish* people; amongst which, was 1 Sir *Fredericks* owne Company, 2. *Coringhams*, Lieutenant-Colonell: 3. *Troopes*, Sergeant-Major: 4. *Gibsons*, and 5 *Flemmings*, Capitaines. The other 4 Ensignes that belonged to this Regiment, were landed other where, and came not till Summer into the Army. The Lord *Forbesse* had also his *Scottish* Regiment there: but himselfe had beene taken prisoner, as hee was comming betwixt *Luckstadt* and *Hamborow*, and carried into *Wolfenbuttle*, where hee yet is. Neither *English* nor *Scottish* Regiments, had any fixt Armes, as yet: which in plaine *English* phrase, is: They were not yet fully Armed.

Sir Frederick
Hamiltons, and
the Lord For-
besss Regi-
ments toyne
with the Ar-
mie.

However, half armed, or unarmed, as they were, Sergeant-Major *Groves* with his *English*, and the 2 *Scottish* Regiments, were after some 16 or 20 dayes lying about *Bardewick*,

R r

com.

Boxtebude beleagred,

especially by those of our nation.

Todt is sent for away by the King, and Sir *Alexander Lesly* comes to the Army.

commanded towards *Boxtebude*. The towne is belonging to the Archbishop of *Bremen*; and lyes upon the small river *Essa*, within 4 *English* miles of the borders of *Lunenbourg*: the *Elb* it selfe being within eight miles to the North; and *Hamborow* almost as neere it, to the Eastward. Tis a stronger towne then *Stoade*; and there was a good garrison now in it; a place besides it is, of very good consequence; for that it is the *Passie* into that which they call the *Old land*, in which *Stoade* standeth. The Generall *Todt* with the rest of the Army, lay now at *Hornburg*; a pretty *Fleck* or market towne, some leaven *English* miles to the Northwest of *Boxtebude*, that was now beleagred. At this *Hornburg* was the *Hoff-Quarter* (or Head Quarter) for that this is also another *Passie*, into the *Old land* aforesaid: by which, *Stoade* was on that side also streightned.

The *English* and *Scottish* lay some tenne dayes at first, an *English* mile off from *Boxtebude*; with unfixt Armes, for a great part, and without powder, or bullets. After this, they were sent to lye at a place called the *Old Cloyster*, which is within a quarter of a mile of the towne, to the Southward. Some few *Dutch* companies there were, enquartered upon the *Old lands* side betwixt the towne and the *Elb*: but they were the *English* and *Scottish* that had the most to doe in the beleagring.

In the time of this siege, upon *De Elor Salvius* advertisements before given to the King, of the Generall *Todt*'s misbehaviour in the Army; had his Majesty sent away for him: and Sir *Alexander Lesly* was commanded from the Lord Marquesse *Hamiltons* Army, by the King of *Swedens* Commission; to come and take charge of *Todt*'s Army, with the Style of Sergeant Major Generall. Sir *Alexander* being now come to the *Old Cloyster*, (aforenamed) and going about to take view of *Boxtebude*; within 3 or 4 dayes after his first comming; was short, from the towne, into the instep of the left foot. He being thus disabled for the commanding of the Army, and carried off, unto *Hamborow*; *Todt*, for the time,

was

was to doe all againe: *Lobansen* (a Colonell with one legge) ^{who being shot,} being then made Sergeant Major Generall. And this order continued, till that *Wolff Hendrick Baudissin* (native of *Lusatia*, and commonly called *Bauditz*) was sent downe to be Lieutenant Generall; and *Todt* now going away, Duke *George of Lunenburg* became Generall of the Armie. But *Baudissin* is sent to take charge of the Army. *Boxtehude* was first taken; and *Pappenheim* gone againe, ere *Baudissin* came to the Army.

To retorne to the siege. There were 3 severall Batteries by this time, gotten up against the towne: whereof 2 upon the *Old Cloyster* side, and a third upon the other: from all which the *Swedish* Canon plaid every day into the Citie. Nor were the besieged, altogether idle. Having advertisement by the Boores, that the *English* and *Scottish* Regiments, were not halfe armed, and but raw souldiers; 200 of the towne Horsemen, one night sallied out upon their Quarters. They fell out, with a very great clamour and noise making: and were comne within twenty paces of their very Guards. Those of our nation that had Armes, stood their ground: and two troopes of Horse were quickly at hand to second them. Tis said, that some of the *Irish* ventured upon the salliers horsemen, with their skeynes or swords only: and did some peece of execution upon them. However, the leader of the salliers was there shot dead, and fell; his men forced to retire: being after some skirmishing, beaten into the very Ports of their Citie. Another night, they felt out of the towne againe; and set fire upon the *Scottish* Guards: and had they adventured but a little further, they had put the Quarters into a terrible confusion. But even now they were perswaded in againe.

The siege went on in the meane time, and the Canon from all 3 Batteries did their duties: faggots and storming ladders were also made shew of; nor yet would these offers fright out the besieged. Full 3 weekes, there was misery enough endured by those of our nation without the towne: about the end of which time, upon the fourth of March; the

Stoade
yielded.

The *English*
being put into
the towne,
were by *Todt*
commanded
out againe.

Stoade blockt
up.

besieged (as it were for pittie of our Countrymen) yielded, and marcht upon good conditions into *Stoade*. *Boxtebude* being thus taken, our *English* having done the chiefe of the service there, were offered to garrison the towne: which they gladly enough accepting of, the 5 Colours were put in to it. Here lay they 3 weekes; Sergeant-Major *Grove* being Governour. The Generall *Todt* having a purpose to put in a *Swede* (a servant of his) to be Governor over *Groves* head: he being a high spirited Gentleman, that could not endure to be rewarded with such an affront for all his services: the *English* Colours were commanded out, and a *Swedish* Lieutenant-Colonell (not *Todts* man) put in to be Governour, with 5 Ensignes.

Thence were the *English* sent to block up *Stoade*; about which, the rest of the Army were quartered up and downe in Dorps, the snow not then suffering them to lye in open Quarters. But this served the turne well enough: *Todts* purpose being, but to block it up at a distance: victualls were so scarce with him, that he should not otherwise have beene able to have kept the Army together, in one leaguer. This towne is seated upon a small riveret called the *Zwing*, about 2 *English* miles from the *Elb*: a sconce being betwixt it and the Citie. The land on both hands of it, is low morasses: Causeyes running all along thorough them. The countrey on the North of it, is the *Keydinger land*, (vulgarly called the Land of *Kayne*) and that part to the East and Southward, is called the *Old land of Stoade*. There was a garrison of almost (if not altogether) 4000 men in the towne: *Pappenheims* owne kinsman being the Governour. Here had the Besiegers exercise enough: the Besieged dayly falling out into their Quarters. Sometimes did they affront their Quarters, with mighty Partees, of a full thousand: otherwhiles, with 2 or 300 Horsemen, or more, with muskettiers behind them. Thus would they give a *Camisado*, beat and fire a Quarter, now and then, and so in againe, never standing to it to make good any thing. And thus went on the businesse, all this moneth,

moneth, and the next: *Tods* having neither purpose nor power, to attempt more upon the towne; the garrison (plainely) being neere as strong as his Army: especially after the taking of *Bremersford*, which next followed.

In the end of April, whilest *Stoade* was blockt; was this towne of *Bremersford* besieged by a Regiment of the Archbishop of *Bremens*. At this towne, whilest the Bishop had it; was his Palace and place of Residence. The besieged were hard put to it for provisions; for all which they had taken a desperate oath, that they would never yeeld the towne, but to the Kings Army. The Generall *Tods* being advertised of this resolution; sends away Sir *Frederick Hamiltons* Regiment, under the command of his Lieutenant Colonell *Cunningham*, to take in the Citie. The besieged no sooner saw his Colours flye before their Walls; but they presently entered into a Parly. The *Bremers* Colonell hereupon, being jealous of his honour, privatly and presently, made tender unto them of better conditions: whereupon they immediately concluded, and marcht out every way like souldiers into *Stoade*.

No sooner was this done, but there came newes instantly unto *Bremersford*, that *Pappenheim* with 9 or 10000 Foot, and 5000 Horse, was comming, and within 10 houres march of them: and indeed this towne was directly in his way, to *Stoade*-ward. Command was now sent from the Generall, that the Regiment should hasten away to *Boxtebude*, and deliver up *Bremersford*, to the *Bremers* Colonell. The Regiment being most *Irish* and *Scotts*, used to wading and night-marching: came flourishing thorough the Bogges and By-places, and recovered safely into *Boxtebude*; notwithstanding the Enemies drummes, were all the night within hearing.

This was about the end of our April. *Pappenheims* march was from *Hamelen* and *Nyenburg* upon the *Weser*, along to the Northward, thorow the Bishoprick of *Ferben*, and the edge of *Lunenburg*, and then betweene the Fennes of *Bre-*

Pappenheim
enters Stoad.

marian l. Leaving the river *Zwing* upon his right hand, and crowding in betweene *Bremersford* and *Harfeveld* cloyster; hee thrust himselfe into *Stoad* Citie. Hee was, indeede, though not so many as he gave out himselfe for, yet much about 10000 Horse and Foot: which with the Towne-garrison, was farre too strong for *Todts* Armie. Hee therefore now gave way to him: marching to *Boxtelude* and thorow it, to get all his owne Army to a head for resistance. *Pappenheim* was in *Stoad*, before the *Suedes* imagined hee could have beene: himselfe giving them the first assurance of his being there, by the shooting off (in a military bravery) all his Ordnance.

Cuts off
Lestys Regi-
ment.

He being now in *Stoad*, had the passage into the *Keydingerland*, (to the North of him) open. There was the Regiment of Major Generall *Lestyes*, and 4 Companies of Colonel *Monroes* of *Obsdell*, enquartered, to block up *Stoad* on that side. Upon these now falls *Pappenheim*, cuts them off all; takes 19 Colours, and Major *Lestyes* owne Ensigne amongst them: Of those that were taken prisoners; Officers were made prisoners to Officers, Captaines to Captaines, and so forth: and notwithstanding that the *Pappenheimers* had spare horses enow, (for that they tooke a breed of Mares out of the Land) yet made they their prisoners to trot on foot at their stirrups, like their Horse boyes.

Officers to force
Todts Army.

Now did *Pappenheim* cast about to get into the *Old land*; both for the pillage of the Countrey, and to get the *Elb* cleare, if it were possible: and withall to exercise *Todts* people, whilst hee provided to bee going. The Boores being now up in their owne defence, about the sconce; and some Dragooners and other souldiers being amongst them: *Pappenheim* supposed the action more faiseable, to beat thorow *Hornburg* and *Todts* Army there: then thorow the Boores, *Causeyes*, and *Morasles*. This *Hornburg*, though it were well seated for a Passe, yet was it but a small *Fleck*, untill some new cast up Workes, had now well fortified the passage. Upon this, now falls *Pappenheim*; and upon this he so thunders

thunders with his Ordnance, that hee beates all downe before him. And yet here was good opposition made unto him, and by some *Scottish* too. of Sir *Frederick Hamiltons* Regiment: amongst whom, *Captaine Giffen* was said to have behaved himselfe bravely: Here was Major Generall *Lobausens* horse shot under him. The Generall *Tods* perceiving the towne not to be maintained, gives order to haue fire put to it, and retreated with his Armie to a great work he had betweene the rowne and the *Old land*: lying upon a water. This was maintained by a *Forlorne hope*, left for the defence of it, untill the Army retreated thorow the *Old land* to *Boxtehude*-ward. This done, the *Forlorne hope* came off safely. The towne of *Boxtehude* being not large enough to entertaine *Tods* whole Armie, hee marcht thorow it, and laid them in Dorps, till hee had occasion to draw them to a head againe.

Pappenheim being thus defeated of his passage into the *Old land* by *Hörnburg*, and put into *Stoade* againe: hee the third of May forced his way thorow, by the scence aforesaid. There his *Crabass* were seene prancing and prickirg up and downe, along the *Causeyes*, comming almost to *Boxtehude*. There being but small reliefe for them to bee had (*Tods* had taken order for that) they set fire upon the Countrey. Just as highway theeves will beate those travellers, that carry no money about them. But all this, could he make nothing of: *Tods* had all the Countrey about him, the *Elb* and the way to it was shut up; so that there was no reliefe that way to be comie at. The towne of *Stoade*, was not to be maintained by him, because his Army could not be maintained by it. The way back againe was full of Passes and Streightnesses, so that there hee might be coopt up and starved, should he stay so long till the power of the Countrey could have time to come downe upon him. And especially was there a Passe at an old mill, by the *Fennes* and the *old cloyster*: and there, had *Tods* had the stomach to it, he might have hazarded to have kept *Pappenheim* in the Coope, a fatning.

He gets into
the *Old Land*.

But is faine to
quitt that,

fatting. But hee durst not, hee was farre too weake: loath to hazard the Army, and his owne credit, which hee had gotten in *Mecklenburg-land*: for that *Pappenheim* being made desperate by stopping up, must needs have struggled like a tyed Tyger, to have gotten loose againe. What could the old Shephard doe with the Lyon, that kil'd his Lambs, after he had gotten him into his house, and then knew not how to tye him? So was it now with *Tods*: for whom it was farre better to let *Pappenheim* come out, and be lo rid of him: who he was very sure, could not stay long by him, in a devoured Country. Some blame *Tods* for this; affirming, that he might have pinfolded *Pappenheim*, and have starved him: though others labour to excuse him, by the former reasons. However, *Tods* staid not with the Army after this, but was commanded away to *Rosstock*: and so to the Kings Armie.

and *Stonde*
after it.

Pappenheims
Noblenesse to
those of *Stonde*
Citie.

Pappenheim not able to stay in *Stonde*, provides for his departure: resolving to take the garrison, the baggage, victuals, and ammunition out of it: for which (as at his coming to *Adagdenburg*) he had brought a many empty waggon along with him. Being ready to leave the towne, hee calls the Magistrates before him, and demands 6000 Markes contribution of them. They going about to levie the monies, came againe and tendered him 5000: with a solemn protestation, that the whole estate of the towne, was able to bring up the summe no higher. *Pappenheim* seeing their poverty, and their good wills; nobly delivers them their monies backe againe, with the Keyes of their Citie: onely exacting these two conditions from them: first, that they should looke well to the sick and wounded souldiers, which hee left behind him: and secondly, that they should keepe the Citie, 3 dayes after his going. And this said, he the sixth of May, finally quits the towne; desperately (shall I call it) or valiantly? in the night adventuring along by the *Old cloyster* neere *Baxtehude*: even thorow these dangerous Passes, and close by *Tods* Army. Being quietly let goe, hee retires

retires first to *Rodenberg*, and so to *Ferden*; and thence the way that he came, into *Brunswickland*. All this, had he done bravely.

Hee goes towards *Wolffen-buttle*.

He was, indeed, at *Stoade*, in some distresse, especially of victualls: there lay a *Swedish* ships in the *Elb*, right against the mouth of the *Zwing*; to stoppe up all provisions from comming from *Hamborow* or *Luckstat*, by water. And yet was *Pappenheim* straightlier blockt up, then that; hee wanted money to have bought any provisions, that might have beene brought to him: enough, I meane, to keepe the town withall. Going out of *Stoade*, hee carried all the course, black, Rusck bread, that hee could get: yea, and tooke the very lead off some Churches, to make Provant bullets of. Some Peeces of Ordnance hee tooke from off the walls, to carry with him: blew up the side of a Port, and away hee went. Whether he had made any private overture of delivering *Stoade* (for money) unto the King of *Denmark*s hands, I know not, though I have read of it: and of some letters besides, which the *Syndicus* or *Recorder* of *Stoade* should be taken with, as he was going to *Luckstat*; which should containe some secrets of correspondency entertained by the King of *Denmark*; that way. Those that write so, affirme this private correspondencie to have beene begunne, presently after *Pappenheims* comming out of *Magdenburg*: and that to be the neerer to put men into *Stoade*, the King of *Denmark* should have surpris'd *Friburg* upon the *Elb*, by some forces sent thither out of *Luckstat*. Sure it is, that the *Danes* did intercept this *Friburg*, and that the Bishop of *Bremen* (in jealousie least his Coadjutor the Prince of *Denmark*, should become his supplanter) had sent the *French* Colonell *Dumeni* from about *Ferden* (where hee then lay) either to repress it, or to keepe the *Danish* forces from comming further. This *Dumeni* (a Colonell of Dragoons) was the man, that had done most in these lands, before *Todts* comming: and hee now going towards *Friburg* with the Bishop of *Bremens* forces, did (as I finde it, written) kill

Some correspondencies betwixt *Denmark* and *Pappenheim*.

S f

some

some 40 *Danish*, and take 160 prisoners, that sallied out of the Castle upon him. However, March the thirteenth, following, and in the night; did 2000 *Bremers* people, in white Frocks or shirts, give a *Camisado* upon the Castle: which they stormed, and killed 300 *Danes* in it. This was thought likely enough, to have made a breach betwixt the Kings of *Sweden* and of *Denmark*; as if these *Danes* had beene slaine by the *Swedish*. Some will also make *Pappenheim* so witty, as to contrive the *Danish* surprisling of *Friburg*; foredooming, that the *Swedes* would never suffer them to enjoy it, but rather goe by the eares with them. But the Generall *Tord* excused himselfe from having any hand in it, but that it was onely done by the Bishop of *Bremen*: and so *Pappenheims* fine plot failed. He being in distresse in *Scode*, and not able to put it over to *Denmark* (which he had rather have done, then the *Swedes* or *Bremers* should have had it) is faine to leave it, as we told you.

Being thus gone cleare off; I wonder (saies hee to Major *Leslyes* Ancient, which he had prisoner with him) that your men follow me not? were I behinde them, as they are now behind me, I would bring up this *Rerre* for them; I would fetch them up, to die for it. His order was, that if any of his men stragled upon the march, but a musket shot, he was sure to have horse sent after him; and either kil'd or hanged: and this to prevent running away, or giving intelligence to the Enemy.

A *Swedish* garrison put into *Scode*.

Scode being thus deserted, Colonell *Croisbon* a *Germane* was put into it with his weake Regiment: being not above 160 men, under 7 Ensignes. And the substance of these Relations, concerning *Tord* and *Pappenheim*: (with some of those that follow) have I learned from divers Gentlemen present in the action: and I hope I have made right collectious from them.

In the beginning of May, and whilest *Pappenheim* was about *Scode*, came Duke *Francis Albert* of *Saxon Lawenberg*, with a weake Regiment (one of Horse and another of Foot)

Foot) to joyne with the Swedish about *Boxtehude*. And now after *Pappenheims* going from *Stoade*, went the General *Tods* away, and *Wolf Hendrick Von Baudissin*, tooke the charge of the Army, as Lieutenant Generall to Duke *George of Lunenburg*: whom in *Tods* place, the King had made Generall. The Duke himselfe, was also now neere at hand with his forces: who joynd with *Baudissin* a little after this, about *Hanover* and *Hildesheim*. His Commission was, to succede *Tods*; to cleare the streames of the *Elb* and *Weser*; with the townes of the *Lower Saxonie*: towards the *Weser*, therefore, (after *Pappenheim*) was the march directed.

Baudissin takes charge of the Army.

Baudissin advanced from about *Stoade* and *Boxtehude*, due Southerly unto *Bremersford*: and from thence to the towne of *Bremen* upon the *Weser*, about sixe *Westphalian* leagues, or 30 *English* miles from *Bremersford* aforesaid. Thorow *Bremen* by the way, I heare that *Dumerni* was sent to take in *Wildshusen*, in the land of *Oldenburg*, some 15 or 16 *English* miles to the South West of *Bremen*. Thence the march lay along the *Weser*, into the Bishoprick of *Ferden*: within 2 *English* miles of which town, the Army encamped. Here they staid about three weekes, or till the beginning of June. *Pappenheim* was not yet farre enough off, for them to goe faster: whom though they followed, to see that he should take as few townes as might be, and not fall thorow *Brunswickland* into *Duringen*; yet were they not over-hasty to come too neere him: for besides, that they were too weake for him; they had not Commission (perchance) to fight with him. In this time was there a Bridge laid over the *Weser*, for that they thought to have besieged *Nienburg*. But this purpose altered. Thence goes *Baudissin* along to the South Eastward, betwixt the rivers of *Weser* and the *Leine*, which falls into the river of *Ferden*. On this *Leine*, is the good towne of *Hanover*, about 40 *English* miles from *Ferden*. Hither, now comes the Duke of *Lunenburg*, with about 5000 men in 4 Regiments; whereof one of Horse and another of Foot, were his owne: the other 2 of Foot, were

He follows *Pappenheim*.

Lunenburg
comes to be
Generall.

led by *Petan* and *Marrad* (or such like names) both Colonells. So soone as the Duke of *Lunenburg* was come to command in chiefe; the Duke of *Saxon Lunenburg* tooke occasion to leave the Armie, and went up (after a while) to the King of *Sweden*. To this *Hanover*; came Sir *John Casse* also; with Commission from the King of *Sweden*, to be Colonell over Sir *Thomas Courmes* Regiment: the 5 colours whereof, were by this time wasted away to three hundred. These were ioyned (by and by) with Sir *Fredericke Hamil-*
ton's 5 Ensignes: which two Regiments, from henceforth marched in one *Brigade* together.

Hildesheim ac-
corded with
him.

Thence goes the Army to the good towne of *Hildesheim*, the chiefe of the Bishoprick of that name: 5 houres iourney on foot from *Hanover*, to the Southward, and upon the river *Innerste*, which falls into the *Leine*. About this, the Armie Quartered themselves in Dorps: till the towne had agreed with the Duke of *Lunenburg*. The agreement was soon made; for that the towne having 1000 of his men before, was now very courteous to the Army. The *Lutherans* in the towne, condescended to give him 10000 Dollars contribution; and out of the *Papists* were 30000 wrung; which they paid one part in plate, and 2 in ready money. With this contribution, had the whole Army a moneths pay, (or *Lendings*) part in plate, and part in money: as the others gave it. The towne also entertained the remainder of the 2 *Lunenburgers* Regiment of *Petan* and *Marrad*, into their Citie. They sent the Armie Provant Bread and Beere also: with many other curtesies.

The day after the Army came to lie by the towne, did the Duke of *Lunenburg* take in *Steyrwild* Castle; a good strong peece about an *Englis*h mile to the North of *Hildesheim*. *Pappenheims* leaguer, was now within some few miles of *Lunenburg*; so that there were daily skirmishes betwixt commanded Partees of both Armies. And now let us fetch up *Pappenheim*. He, when in his march off from *Stonde* he was come as far as *Ferden*: sent unto *Zell* in the Dukedom of *Lunenburg*.

menburg, where he heard the States of the *Low Saxonic*, to be then assembled. Part of their Consultations, then were; how to continue their wars, for the clearing of their *Circle* frō the Imperialists; to reconcile the differences betwixt the King of *Denmark*, and the *Hamburgers*; and to confirme the King of *Swedens Commission* unto the Duke of *Lunenbourg* and *Ban-dissin*; for the Generallship and Lieutenant-Generallship of their *Circle*. To them *Pappenheims* message now was; An advice to returne unto the Emperors devotion, and to break off with *Sweden* and with *Lunenbourg*: to relieve his Army, and to cashiere their forces: otherwise, he would come upon them with his whole Army, and force them to it.

Pappenheim sends to terrifie the States of the Lower Saxony.

But notwithstanding that they either sent him no answer, or a deniall; he could not now stay to make good his threatnings: for that hee was by the *Electōr of Cullen* solicited, to make hast against *Clein Iaacob* the *Landgrave* of *Hessens* Lieutenant, who had lately taken *Brilon* and some other places, in *Cullens* Dukedome of *Westphalia*: where *Boenighausen* was too weake to resist him.

At him, now goes *Pappenheim*: for now layes he a bridge over the *Weser*, which he still carried about with him. Leaving then the Count of *Gronsfelt*, with part of the Army, about the *Weser*, neere *Hamelen* & those parts: himselfe with the residue, passes towards *Hessen*, where hee first recovers *Munden* upon the river *Werra*, from the *Landgrave*.

Thence falls he like a storme of Haile and Lightning, into the *Landgraviate*; with fire and sword destroying all before him. Up the river *Werra* hee goes; to *Witzenhausen* first, and then to *Allen-Dorff*: spoyling all in the way, and plundering the 2 townes. Then turnes hee Westward, towards the towne of *Cassel*; the place of residence for the *Landgrave*: whose Father (the good Prince *Maurice*) being dead about our *Lady day* before, and his active sonne *William*, now in Mourning: gave *Pappenheim* the easier opportunity, to take him unprovided. But he, now, seeing occasion of more sorrow, changed his mourning *Blacks*; into

He falls into *Hassia*.

a black Corfler; and armes for resistance. The Boores of *Hug-*
fi, (become halfe souldiers by these continued warres)
 they start up too, and stop up the passages of the Countrey.
Pappenheim, Van-courriers making a shew of themselves, be-
 fore the very gates of *Cassel*: were there encountred with a
 Horse-Regiment of Colonell *Dalwick*; that now fallied out
 upon them. The *Pappenheimers* had made their brave, so
 neere to the very towne: that the Ordnance from the walls,
 were let flye amongst them. Here tis said, that Colonell *Lohn*
 that brought them on, was taken prisoner, and some 60
 Horsemen slaine upon the place: the rest being faine to re-
 treat from *Dalwick*; to whom they left one Cornet behind
 them. *Pappenheim* (I heare) had promised the Archduchesse
Isabella, that he would take this *Cassel*: but was faine now
 to goe without it: the towne being one of the strongest of
 all *Germanie*.

He is put off;

All this had *Pappenheim* done, to make a diversion: and
 to oblige the *Landgrave* to recall *Clein Iacob*, out of the
Elect of *Cullens* Countreies of *Paderborn* and *Westphalia*.
 He had purposed, also, to have fallen into *Duringen*; which
 at *Allen-Dorff* he was very neere unto: the *Werra*, East and
 West, dividing this *Hessen* and *Duringen*. But both these
 purposes, he was now diverted from; by a Currier received
 from the Count of *Gronsfelt*, concerning *Lunenburgs* and
Baudissins falling into the lands of *Brunswick & Hildesheim*.
 This made him *face about to the right*; and to goe towards
Volckmarsen: which the *Landgraves* Forces had also in pos-
 session. To relieve this, 14 *Hassian* troopes of Horse, being
 now sent; and having taken up their Quarters upon a woo-
 die hill neere the town, in the night time to slip into it: they
 were discovered and surpris'd by the *Pappenheimers*. Of
 these, were 200 said to be slaine, and as many prisoners:
 with the losse of 9 Ensignes, 5 Field-peeces, and all their
 baggage. The towne was yeilded presently upon it; after
 which, *Pappenheim* goes to *Warburg* upon the river *Dymel*
 and frontiers of *Paderborn*; 6 *Englisch* miles to the North of
Volck-

After which
 having taken
Volckmarsen.

Falkmarfen. Hither now calls he those new Forces, which had beene levied for him in that Bishoprick: with the Counties of *Lippe* and *Ravensberg*. Thence in company of the Count of *Gronsfelt* (for whom he had laid a bridge over the *Weser*, betwixt *Hamelen* and *Hoxter*) passes he the river *Weser* againe: with 55 Horse Cornets (say some) advancing directly towards the Duke of *Lunenburg*; at that time about *Hildesheim*. About foure or sixe *Englisch* miles from this towne, and as much from *Kalenberg*, he about mid June sits downe with his Army, to expect the next benefit of occasion.

He goes against the Duke of *Lunenburg*.

The *Lunenburgers* suspecting, that *Pappenheim* would shortly visite them in their Quarters: they after 4 or 5 dayes drew out of the villages, and entrenched upon the Southern side of *Hildesheim*. And indeed *Pappenheim* was not long a comming. For *Lunenburg* having sent the *Swedish* Colonell *Lam Cag* with 1400 men, to take in *Kalenberg*: *Pappenheim* displanted him. This towne is seated upon the river *Leine*, about an houre and halfe going to the West of *Hildesheim*. Whilest *Cag* was here busie about his Approaches, *Pappenheim* marcht, and came towards him: whereupon he was faine to breake up his siege, & make his Retreat to *Hildesheim*: so that the towne was not taken, till after *Pappenheim* going out of the Countrey. This was done, about the middle of June: at which time there were daily skirmishes betweene the Armies, the *Lunenburgers* looking every day for *Pappenheim* to come to beate their Quarters. Now was the Armie mustered, and reduced; some weak Colours broken, and put to make others stronger: divers Regiments were also put together, to make one compleate Brigade of. The whole Foot forces, were after this, drawne out in *Battaglia*: where there were found 6 compleat Brigades or *Battagions*. These were marshald (as a Herald would say) 3, 2, and 1: or into a *Van*, a *Reire*, and a *Reserve*. In the *Van* or *Front*, were 3 *Battalions*. First, the Duke of *Lunenburgs* owne Brigade, which had the Right Wing of the

He relieves *Kalenberg*.

Lunenburgs Army drawne into *Battaglia*.

the three: Secondly *Lobausens*, which made the *Battle*; And thirdly Colonell *Grave* (or some such name) a *Swede* who had the *left wing*. In the *Reere*, were onely 2 *Brigades*. The first which made the *Right Wing*, was of the *Scottish* nation; made up of the 3 weake Regiments of my Lord *Forbes*, Colonell *Momro's*, and Colonell *Roberts* *Leffyes*; who commanded it. In the *left Wing* of the *Reere*, was the *Brigade* made up of the *English* and *Scottish* nations; under Sir *Frederick Hamilton* and Sir *John Casneck*. The *Reserve*, or *Brigade* behind all: was commanded by the *Swedish* Colonell *Cag* afore said. All these, together with the *Horse* (not now drawn up) might really make up some 9000 men: which though they were able to march no more, yet they went for 16000. This is the *Arithmetick of the Warres*: to use *Substraction* from the countrey people, and *Multiplication* of their owne numbers.

June the twenty eighth being *Thursday*, the *Alarme* was brought into the *Lunenburger* leaguer: *Arme, Arme Pappenheim is coming*. That night hee came indeede, to the other side of *Hildesheim*. At this time, the *English* and *Scottish* *Brigade* had the *Watch*, or *Guard*: and it was verily beleev'd, hee would have fallen into the *Trenches*. But this he did not: for having cast up some *Batteries*, in the hill of *Morisberg*; and mounted about 8 peeces, close by the town: hee did no more then onely give them 10 or 30 Canon shot, without attēpting any further. With all this, he did not much more hurt, then kill 2 *Hogs* in the street; as the townsmen confessed. But they having their Ordnance ready mounted; thunder'd so upon his Pioners, and those about the Ordnance; that they kill'd him 40 or 50 people. Some affirme, that his men were that day in mutiny; and cried for *Gelt*, *Gelt*: and that this was the reason he gave no more on; neither upon towne nor leaguer. However, hee that night dismounted his Canon, drew off his troopes; and march'd unto *Kalenberg*: where for 5 or 6 dayes hee entrenched. All that time, were there daily skirmishes betwixt Commanded

His numbers.

Pappenheim
attacking the
towne of
Hildesheim:

falls off againe.

ded Partees, from both Armies : but this held no longer, for that *Pappenheim* being now invited to relieve *Maestricht*, made halt thitherward ; and so utterly (for the time) left this Countrey : raising his workes before *Kalenberg*, and goes to *Maestricht*.

In *Pappenheims* absence, was the Count of *Gronsfelt* left with some few forces about *Westphalia*, on the other side the *Wefer*: who by lightning the garrisons in the Bishoprick of *Paderborn*, and those parts ; came afterwards to have an Army too strong for *Bandissins* ; after that *Lunenburg* was parted with him. But of this, by and by ; in its order. *Pappenheim* directed his march to the South Westward ; going first to *Groenaw*, 12 English miles from *Hildesheim* and due East of *Hamelen*. Hence goes he to *Poll*, on the *Westphalian* side of the *Wefer*, 14 English miles South of *Hamelen* : and here having passed the *Wefer*, hee faces about to the left, all along the *Wefer* ; and so to the *Rhine*-ward.

Pappenheims Army being thus marcht out of *Kalenberg* ; (at whom let us turne downe a lease, till wee againe meete them) the *Swedish* had present notice of it : and some of their Horse fell into it, so soone as ever the *Pappenheimers* were out of it. Yea before *Pappenheim* himselfe was : who being something amorous, and staying in the towne behind his Armie upon such an occasion ; might there have beene taken prisoner by the *Swedish* : had they either knowne him, or of him. The Duke of *Lunenburg* purposing to remove, gives order to dismantle *Steenwold* Castle ; whereupon, July the twelfth he rises from about *Hildesheim* : and leaving his two Regiments in the towne, he marches with the rest of the Armie towards *Duderstat*. This towne, is in the very Southern corner of the land of *Brunswick*, in the little Countrey of *Eischfeldt* ; about 50 English miles from *Hildesheim*. *Pappenheim* had left these troopes for the defence of it. Of *Breuners* Regiment, 350 : of *Reinachers*, 300 : of *Furstenbergs*, 250 : besides 200 new levied men, and 400 Horsemen. Before this towne, was much good service done on both sides : the *Lunenburgers* laboured upon their Approaches, and the Be-

The Duke of
Lunenburg be-
siegues *Duder-*
stat.

Takes it.

sieged upon their sallies, where many a brave man was killed. Amongst the rest was *Francis Beton*, Capitaine Lieutenant to Sir *Frederick Hamilton*, slaine with a bullet of a sling peece, in the shoulder. The Besiegers, at last, brought their lines almost close to the walls, and were ready to storme: which the townsmen (then in want and mutiny) July 24 prevented, by sending out a Drumme, giving hostages, and entring into a Parlie. And thus was the towne yeelded: divers of the souldiers, taking pay of the Duke of *Lunen- burg*. Hence were all the Ordnance, victuals, and ammunition taken, and the workes sighted and dismantled. After this, some strong Partees being sent abroad into the Country of *Eischfeldt*; perswaded the Boores (something at that time in commotion) to goe home and be quiet. And thus by the end of July, was all that corner (excepting *Eymbeck*) betwixt *Brunswickland*, *Duringen*, and the *Weser*; reduced into good termes again: whom, after Duke *William* of *Saxon- Weymars* departure; the coming of the Count of *Pappenheim*, (like a storme among the waves) had wrought high, and all to be-ruffled in a foame of fury.

Lunen- burg and
Baudissin part
the Army.

Those parts being well shut of *Pappenheim*; the Duke of *Lanen- burg* being solicited by the *Brunswickers*: hath a designe upon the strong towne of *Wolfenbuttle*. Hereupon, August the first, is the whole Army divided; for 2 several wayes and expeditions: *Baudissin* with 3 *Brigades*, making towards *Paderborn*; and the Generall *Lunen- burg* with the other 3, towards *Wolfenbuttle*. For now they thought to have taken in all the Countrey, at once: and that so soone as ever they shewed but their Canon; any towne would yeeld, presently. But they were deceived. *Lunen- burg* comming neere *Wolfenbuttle*, there were a weake Regiments of the Dukes and Townes of *Brunswick*, sent to joyne with him. One of these were Dragoones; but not yet furnished with Horses: and the other was a Foot Regiment. Hither also came a *Scottish* Regiment, under Colonell *King*: the Regiment was not wholly there, for they were not above 7 or 800 men: but these

these that did come, were held as good men as any in the Army. By these, was Duke *George* made up some 7000 strong, Horse and Foot together, or neere upon it: and with these, began hee now to block up the towne. Three severall Quarters he laid about it: his owne, Sergeant-Major *Lobausens*, (which was something neere the towne) and the *Brunswickers*. They made neither Approaches nor attempts upon it; their purpose onely being, to block and starve it. The first night of their comming before it, the towne Horse by the Governor Baron *Gleiners* appointment; fell out to burne up the next Dorps and Villages, and to spoile what they could; that their enemies might have no shelter nor benefit of them. It chanced, that one *Erick* (or *George*) *Anderson*, the King of *Swedens* Commissarie for the Armie, and Major *Lobausen* with him, seeing these *Bontesens* and fire-carriers, (whom they supposed to have bin their owne men) rode up to them, to chide them in the Kings name. The Commissarie having thus runne his head into the noose, by this mistaking, and betrayed himselfe in the Kings name: was there taken prisoner in the Emperours name. *Lobausen* escaped narrowly, and that by the meanes of his Pages discovering the toyle, they were gotten into.

The Duke
blocking up
Wolfenbuttle.

The Duke, the more to incommode the towne; derived away the streame that drove their Watermills: but that would not doe it.

It so fell out, that Lieutenant Generall *Baudissin* being about *Paderborn*, and finding himselfe too weake to encounter the Count of *Gronsfelt*; (whom hee then heard to be comming against him) wrote unto his Generall *Lunenbourg*, to desire some ayde from him. Hereupon is *Lobausen* sent, with those that lay in his Quarter: who comming too late to succour *Baudissin*; turned short in, and went into *Goslar*. Whilest hee was gone from *Wolfenbuttle*, in the night September 24, are 1400 Horse sent from *Gronsfelt*; who thrust themselves into the Citie: the Duke of *Lunenbourg* not being able to forbid them. They being thus gotten in; 1000

T t 2

of

is beaten from
it by *Gransfelt*.

of them, and as many Foot of the garrison, falling out upon the *Brunswickers* Quarter: beate that, take 9 Ensignes, and send the men packing. And as much (to tell the troath) did they to Duke *Georges* Quarters: for they turned him going too; and so finally freed their towne from blocking. Hereabouts (sometimes in the field; and sometimes in Quarters in the townes,) lived the Duke of *Lunenbourg* and his Army: till that in October after, they went to joyne with the Elector of *Saxonie* about *Torgau*: a little before the Battell of *Luizen*. Turne we now alter *Baudissin*.

Baudissin sends
to take in *Eymbeck*:

We left him ready for his march from *Duderstat* (where the Army was divided) unto *Paderborn*. Before which going, he sent a Colonell with his Regiment unto *Eymbeck*: a good towne some 26 *English* miles to the Northward. Here was Colonell *Goltz* left Governour, by *Pappenheim*; who was resolved to give his Generall a good account of it. The *Swedes* thinking presently to have the towne yeilded, finde their hopes deceived: for that the *Eymbeckers* so farre resolved to resist; as that they tooke downe the spires of their steeple, and planted Sling peeces upon them: with which to shoot downe into the *Swedes* Quarters. Thus were they faine to returne againe, with having onely seene the towne: which all that had seene it, could not.

but his men
are repulled.

From *Duderstat* to *Paderborn*, lay *Baudissins* march to the Westward, and he had some 60 *English* miles thither: in which march, hee twice or thrice cross'd over the *Weser*. August the twelfth, he marcht by the towne; and the next day turned he back againe, and sate downe before it. The *English* and *Scottish* were at first sitting downe, assigned to an old Cloyster, where there was good wine and Being: but that being thought too good a Quarter for them; there was a trick used to get them out of it. An Alarum was brought to them in the night, and a command to rise and march: so that having had a scurvie journey of it all that night, and the next day till 4 a clock; there were 4 or 5 Trumpetters then sent after, to countermand them back againe; after which, they were

Baudissin besieging
Paderborn,

were put into a worse Quarter. The garrison was 1500 strong within, and Colonel *Westphalen* was their Governor. The Approaches were from severall Quarters begun; and *Baudissin* with the *Dutches*, was gotten within a stone cast off the walls: the *English* and *Scottish* being not much further off. It was wet weather now; and that much hindered the Besiegers: besides which, the towne garrison sallied night and day, and shot very fiercely; especially upon the *Dutches* Quarters and Approaches. In these sallies and defences, were thought to be lost neere 1000 men of *Baudissins*: and yet that which worse was, the newes of the Count of *Gronsfelts* coming, was brought so fresh and truly into the leaguer, that the eighth day of the siege, and the 21 of this August, was *Baudissin* enforced to levie his owne siege, and hasten back to *Corberg*; a day and halfe march from *Paderborn*.

is raised by the news of *Gronsfelts* coming.

Hither did the Army arrive the 23; and there staid two or three dayes, to get some contribution out of the Country. Hence prepared they to remove the 26. Here did *Baudissin* in the Corne-fields, draw up his smal Armie into *Battaglia*: hourly expecting when *Gronsfelts* would have marcht up to encounter him. At this time, was there a *Hollands* Ambassadour, and a *Swedish* Commissarie, gone from *Baudissins* leaguer; who had like, unawares, to have beene taken prisoner by the *Gronsfelders*: but escaping backe againe, they brought too sure newes unto *Baudissin*, that *Gronsfeld* was marching night and day to surprise him. And hee, indeede, having lightned all the garrisons, that were furthest from the danger; and being re-enforced with some new Recruits: had thus gotten up an Army too strong for *Baudissin*, and was now marching to have fallen upon him: so soone, namely, as he had heard of the Duke of *Lunenburgs* parting with him. But he advanced no further at this time, till the Count of *Pappenheim* was come up againe, whom hee presently peec'd in withall.

And at this time, had *Klein Jaacob* with 2 or 3000 Horse and Dragoons, lately conjoynd himselfe with *Baudissin*:

Klein Jaacob comming to joyne with *Baudissin*;

high some skin-
mills with
Gronsfelds

having at the Passe of *Brakel* in the way, had some bickering with the *Gronsfelders*; who tooke the Passe from him. This little valiant man, is native (as I heare) of *Mompelgart*, upon the edge of *Burgundie*: which belongeth unto the Duke of *Brunswick*.

Hee being joyned, *Baudissin* marcht presently towards *Hoxter* upon the *Weser*. Some 2 *Dutch* miles short and to the West of which, is the towne or Fleck of *Brakel* aforesaid: which the *Gronsfelders* being already possessed of; there fell out some rencounters for the clearing of it. *Klein Iaacob* having the honour of the first charge, was put to the retreat: whereupon two *Dutch* Regiments of Horse that should have seconded him, ranne quite out of the field to *Hoxter*. Then came it to the *Fins* or * *Hackapells* turnes to goe on; of whom there being but 4 troopes, yet shewed they a farre better resolution. So well they seconded little *Iaacob*, that the fight was restored and the better gotten of it: the *Gronsfelders*, finally, being beaten from the Passe, and that with the losse of one Corner, and the leaving of 3 field peecees behind them. The Passe being thus cleared, *Baudissin* with the Army goes on to *Hoxter*: where he arrived about August the twenty seventh.

Both Armies,
(of the *Suedes*
and *Imperia-*
lists) usually
call these *Fins*
hauders Horse,
by the name of
Hackapells: and
that from the
word *Hackapel*,
which they use
when they fall
on. It signifies
Knack them
downe: for they
looke for no
Quarter; ei-
ther to give or
take any.

Baudissin going
to lye at *Hox-*
ter,

is forced to
dislodge by
Pappenheim.

This towne having at this time no Forces in it, yeelded at the first summons. Here laid he a Bridge over the *Weser*; by which, after he had laine a while on the *Westphalian* side, (on which the towne standeth) hee passed over to the further side: and as hee had fortified the towne on the other side, so he now fortified a Camp or Workes on that *Brunswickers* side: which hee daily relieved from the towne and leaguer. About this *Hoxter* he lay, till the nineteenth of September following; upon which day by 8 a clock in the morning, *Pappenheim* (who was now returned from *Maestricht* and conjoynd with *Gronsfelt*;) first shewed his Vant-carriers on the *Westphalian* side of *Hoxter*. About 12000 men, was hee beleaved to have then beene: which was almost double unto *Baudissins* number. Hee, therefore, first
of

of all, had commanded his Horse over the river, to the Corps on the other side where the leaguer was: so that the Count of *Pappenheim* at his coming, found none there to doe any spoile upon. That day, went the Ordnance off on both sides, over the *Weser*: the towne wall was also guarded with the *Scottish* Muskettiers of Sir *Frederick Hamiltons* Regiment, and 100 of *Forbes*: as the letter of that *Scottish* Gentleman testifies, who sayes that hee that day commanded upon the wall.

Baudissin thus entertained the time, till hee could send away his Baggage and military impediments, before hand unto *Munden*: whither in the evening, was hee enforced to make his retreat; and to quit both towne and leaguer. And indeed it was high time for him to doe so; for that the *Weser* was in 2 places fordable, above and below the towne: by which, had *Pappenheim* (as that night hee would) have come over, he had cut the *Swedish* Army all to peeces.

Baudissin leaving some Dragoons behind to breake the Bridge, marcht off: whose departure was discovered, because his Ordnance were no more heard of. Hee, thus being unable to recover up to his Generall the D. of *Lunenburg* (*Pappenheim* being betweene) he was faine to retire himselfe towards *Munden*, and the *Landgrave* of *Hessens* Countrey. And this way did *Pappenheim* well know to follow him: so that having that night, passed his Horse over the *Weser*; their *Vanguard*, by the morning, had overtaken *Baudissin*, and brought up his *Rear* for him. This was September the 20: by breake of day which morning, had his Horse setcht up those *Swedish* Horsemen that mann'd the *Rear*, to make good the *Retreat* to the Footmen. *Baudissins* advantage was, that hee was already entred into the Woods: so that sending some muskettiers from the *Van* into the *Rear*; they from behinde the trees so galled the *Pappenheimers*, that their Horse could not come up to charge the *Armie* of the Foot forces. However, *Pappenheim* thus pursued, and *Baudissin* in this posture, retreated; for above 20 *English* miles together,

Pappenheim pursued *Baudissin* and skulled with him 20 miles together.

together, skirmishing all the way and fighting. Plainly, there was good service done on both sides, *Pappenheim* did very much spoile upon the *Swedish*, and cut off all the sick and tyred men, that could not so fast follow. For all this, the *Finnish* Horse having the *Reere*, tooke 2 Cornets from the *Pappenheimers*: who still pursued, till *Baudissin* had gotten *Munden* on his back; at which time *Pappenheim* founded the retreat, and gave it over. Most of the *Swedish* Dragooners paid for it, and so did *Pappenheim's* men too: there being 1000, and more, slaine upon both parties.

Baudissin falls
into the land
of *Cullen*:

Taking towns
and castles in
it.

From *Munden* the 21 and 22 of September, did *Baudissin* march to *Cassel* in *Hassia*: for other place hee had not to goe unto. In this land crossing uncertainly up and downe, backwards and forwards: he tooke a resolution to fall into the Bishopricke of *Cullen*: his purpose being to make a diversion, and to oblige the *Electer* to recall *Pappenheim*. Now therefore advances he therow the Dukedome of *Berg*, on to the *Rhine*: neere which, October 19, hee takes in the strong Castle of *Siburg*, upon the East banke of it right against *Ronn*. Then takes he in *Lintz*, and *Audernach*, on the other side of the *Rhine*: this last, being upon the very frontiers of *Triers* Countrey. Then winnes hee *Draconsfelt*, a very strong Castle upon a high hill: so named (say the Countrey people) from *S. George* his killing of the *Dragon*. The hill though very high, yet was it commanded by another, hard by it; neither hills nor Castle, being defended as they should have beene. This service was done by the *English* and *Scottish* Brigade: and here was found good plenty of provisions. December the third, was the Armie mustered at *Konickwinter*: and December the tenth, were the *English*, *Scottish*, and *Irish* Brigade, reduced. December the eleventh, was *Durtz* taken, right against *Cullen*: but December the twelfth, they were by the Ordnance from the towne of *Cullen*, againe beaten out of it. But of these things slightly: because beyond my time of the Kings death, and for that I could come at no particular instructions.

There

There was a *Journall* of these *Actions*, brought into this Land; but it was not my good fortune, nor my Readers, to light upon it. I confesse I might have enlarged my selfe out of *Le Soldat Suedois*: had I knowne where to have trusted him.

The Count of *Pappenheim*, having thus chased away Lieutenant Generall *Baudissins* part of the Armie; turnes now against Generall *Lunenburgs* Division, before *Wolfenbuttle*: for within 4 dayes of *Baudissins* retreat, were the 1400 Horse thrust into the towne; as hath beene before recited. And now turnes *Pappenheim* (who might doe what he pleased) against the towne of *Hildeheim*: upon which, he had before vowed to be revenged. Being set downe before the towne, hee plants those 9 Ensignes which had beene taken from *Lunenburg* and the *Brunswickers* at *Wolfenbuttle*; upon one of his Batteries, next the towne: which he caused them to understand were *Baudissins* Colours, and that hee had utterly overthrowne him. This he did, to put the townsmen out of all hope, of being that way relieved. Here sate hee downe September 26: where battering the townsmen with bigge words, as well as the towne with his great Ordinance; hee had already cow'd and daunted their courages: notwithstanding their towne might have held out ten times longer. *Pappenheims* Approaches and his Batteries; so terribly pussed the honest Burgers; that they began to listen to a Parlie: fame would they have made their owne conditions; had not their Enemie knowne well enough, hee had to deale with those that would yeeld to any thing. *Pappenheim* continuing stout, peremptorily made proffer to them of these 5 Conditions; which he vow'd he would not alter from.

Pappenheim besieges Hildeheim:

1. First, that out of his meere favour and grace to them, he would (at present) burthen their towne with no greater a garrison, then of 2000: which according as hee had occasion, he would draw out and lighten.

2. That they should give him 200000 Dollars, present

Vu

contribution

contribution : in consideration whereof, he would give order, that strict military discipline should be observed by his Souldiers : whom he would forbid plundering.

3. That the *Lutheranes* should still be left in the free exercise of their religion : and be enforced to alter nothing in it.

4. That the townsmen should have free leave, either to goe or stay, as they pleased.

5. That there should, for the time, be a cessation from shooting on both sides : and yet should hee be suffered to worke on still in his Approaches, and to bring forward his *Lines* even to their very Ports; until such time as they should be set open to him.

Upon these most dishonourable conditions, was the strong & excellently wel provided town of *Hildesheim* ; the last day of September, yeelded up unto the Count of *Pappenheim*. You have here no mention, of any conditions for soldiers marching out ; for indeed there was none, but the towns ordinary garrison now in it : for notwithstanding, that the Duke of *Lunenbourg* had left 2 of his Regiments there, at his going thence to *Duderstat* ; yet had hee drawne them out againe, at his late going to *Wolfenbuttle*. At this easie taking, of so mighty a strong, and well provided a Citie, *Pappenheim* himselfe could not chuse, but wonder : *Hildesheim* was much easier then *Maestricht* to him. Being master of it, hee used it thereafter ; Cowards (he knew) would endure any thing. Now gives he order, to have all the townsmens plate laid hold of ; and carried into the *Statehouse* : and that to make present downe payment, of the 200000 Rixe Dollars agreed upon. A very great quantity of victualls and ammunition, hee causes to be taken out of their Magazines, which hee sent into *Wolfenbuttle*. This was the place, that hee was most carefull of : for besides that it so curbed and awed the neighbour *Brunswickers* ; it was a sure retreate for himselfe, upon all occasions.

[Having

Having settled things in these parts, where no businesse, and scarce a considerable enemy appeared: hee was in this beginning of October commanded from the Court of *Vien-na*, to march up to his *Generalissimo* the Duke of *Fridland*. Leaving, therefore, the Count of *Gransfelt* in these parts, to looketo the Duke of *Lunenbourg*; and the Count of *Me-rode* being sent, a little after this, towards *Culken*, against *Baudissin*: himselfe with the greatest and best part of his Armie, being some 8000 reall men: marches up into *Mis-*
nia.

Pappenheim leaving the Count of *Gransfelt* about the 11th of Oct,

His march lay altogether thorow *Branswickland*, to the Southward: the rivers of *Leine* and *Weser*, being upon his right hand. Into *Duringen* he first comes; a rich, and enemy Country to him. All the better: such rich and weake enemies, had hee a desire to deale withall. Having passed by *Duderstat* and the Countrey of *Eischvelt*; the next good place to that, (in the very edge of *Duringen*) is the great towne of *Mulhausen*; famous, sometimes, for the *Diets* of the Empire: Presenting his *Crosse* before this, together with the terror of the name of *Pappenheim*; and the example of *Hildeheim*: it yeelds to pay him 80000 Dollars. Thence sends hee 3 troopes of 150 Horse, unto *Isenach*; a stronger place, and more out of the danger: as being 15 *English* miles to the South of *Mulhausen*. Being denied here, these Horsemens plunder *Creutzberg* in their returne; a little towne some 5 *English* miles to the North West of *Isenach*, towards *Mulhausen*.

Marches up himselfe, to joyn with *Walenstein*.

From *Mulhausen*, hee advances due Eastward unto *Thomaßbruck*: and there he gets contribution. *Thenstat*, an opener towne, some 11 miles further; hee causes to be summoned: and whereas the townsmen could not so suddenly bring up the demanded contribution; the *Pappenheimers* hang up 3 of the chiefe Burgers upon a tree: who being halfe dead, they cut downe againe. *Gebesen* hee also fetches money out of: and sends to the Citie of *Erfurt*, that if they

Hee fetches contribution out of the townes of *Daringen*.

would have their Countrey townes spared, they should
 send him 20000 Dollars. Duke *William Heymar* lay then
 (sicke) in the rowne, with some 3000 men: so that *Erfura*
 not fearing their owne walls either sent him nothing; or
 else contented him with 2000 Dollars, raised out of
 their Boores, who were in the danger of being
 rifled. Hearing, now of Duke *Bernards*
 being already on this side the *Duringer*
Walds: he marches away to *Badstet*;
 and so along to *Merseburg*: as
Page 119 of our Third Part,
 wee have before
 told you.

THE



THE
ELECTOR OF
SAXONIES PROCEEDINGS
IN LVSATIA,
AND SILESIA:

*After their former putting out of Bohemia by
the Duke of Fridland.*



Now the Saxon Forces under Felt-
Marshall *Arnheim*, had in the end
of May 1632, beene forced out of
Bohemia: you may please to take
notice of, by Page 232, of our *Se-
cond Part*. The losse of this King-
dome, will not altogether appeare
to be so dishonourable; if the mul-
titudes of *Walenstein* be conside-
red, which were foure times their
numbers. Since the match hath beene made more equally,
the Saxons have not onely collard with the *Walsteiners*, but
overthrowne them: and have shewne the world, that the
losse of *Bohemia* was not cowardize, so much as negligence in
them: yea in these after warres, have they given us a better
account of their diligences.

The Imperialists falling in to *Lusatia*:

take *Luben*
and *Bautzen*,

which are re-
covered by
Arnsheim.

Don Balthazar di Marradas being left chiefe commander of the *Militia* in *Bohemia*, by his *Generalissimo*; now thinking the fortune of the warres to be turned, and the dice to runne all on their side: hopes of as good a hand of it in *Lusatia*, as *Walenstein* lately had in *Bohemia*. Whilest, therefore, his *Generalissimo* recovers *Egra* from the Saxons; *Don Balthazar* is sent to take *Lusatia* from that *Elector* also: so great a spite had *Walenstein* unto *Saxonie*. About June the sixth, does *Don Balthazar* first set out some troopes, to fall thorow *Silesia* into the 6 townes in the *Vpper Lusatia*, which joyne *East and West*, with *Silesia*. First recover they *Gorlitz* upon the river *Neiss*, which lies next unto *Silesia*: and the towne making no resistance, because not able; hath no wrong done to it. Then also take they *Zittan*, *Luben*, and what they pleased.

The *Elector* of *Saxonie* perceiving, that if he suffered this, the warres would be brought thorow *Lusatia* into his *Misnia*: calls his Army together at *Dresden*; and sends *Arnsheim* with them into *Lusatia*. Hee came both time enough and strong enough, to rescue *Bautzen*; the chiefe Citie of the 6: before which, the Imperialists being newly settled, are faine to rise againe, and retice the way they came into *Silesia*. Upon *Luben*, now falls *Arnsheim*; a little towne, but an indifferent strong one: which being kept by some 700 Imperialists, was taken by assault by the Saxons; and the most of the garrison put to the sword, for so long resisting. A many of these 700, were *Crabats*; indeed; who having done too much mischief to looke for Quarter, became the more obstinate in the rendring.

Now comes the *Elector* of *Saxonie* unto *Bautzen*; to whom, whilest *Arnsheim* and the Army repaired; other Imperialists came and reprimed *Luben*: serving all the Saxons that would not turne to their party, as *Arnsheim* had before used their fellows. About the 25 of June, the *Elector* returns to *Dresden* againe, and *Arnsheim* (his great Orator) with him; at which time the Army is drawne to the Frontiers, and
Colonell

Colonell *Loefer* with his Foot Regiment and 500 Horſe, is laid along the *Elb* betwixt *Prin* and *Dreſden*, for the guard of the *Electors* Caſtle and perſon, againſt all ſudden *Cavaladoes*. The occaſion for the *Electors* going home, was the coming of a kinde of Ambaſſadour from *Walenſtein*, with the noiſe of ſome peaceable *Propoſitions*. The King of *Sweden*, alſo, to prevent all ſuch private parties, had already diſpatched the *Palatine Auguſtus* of *Sulzbach* (who dyed in the employment) and one of the Counts of *Solms*, unto the *Electors*: who under the pretence of directing him in the *Militia*, ſhould keepe him firme unto the Party.

ſeene offers
of a treaty,
diverted.

The peace was turned into ſilence, for the *Propoſitions* were miſliked: whereupon the *Electors* muſters once againe within a league of *Dreſden*, where hee layes a Bridge over the *Elb*, and ſends the ſecond time into *Lusatia*. By this time was Colonel *Buckersdorff* * already upon his march, with the *Electors* of *Brandenburgs* forces: who ſtaid but for Major Generall *James* (or *Jacob*) *Magdugall*. Hee being borne in *Sweden* of *Scottiſh* parents, is by the *Swediſh* uſually called *Dubalt*: as he ſhall by us, hereafter; he was to bring on the *Swediſh*, now taken out of the garrifons of *Pomeran*, and ſome others newly landed. Theſe were to fall joyntly into *Sileſia*, by the *Oders* ſide: ſo that *Arnheim* with them, was likely hereafter to be ſtrong enough for the Imperialiſts.

* Mentioned
Pag. 95 of our
Enſt part.

Upon *Arnheims* ſecond coming, the Imperialiſts abandon *Luben*, and retire to other of their fellowes at *Zittau*, 4 *Engliſh* miles to the South of *Luben*. Thither follows *Arnheim*, and there beſieges them. They ſally upon his Approaches: and hee there kills above 100 of them. The *Saxons* making themſelves maſters of a great Worke, before one of the Ports; by that get to lodge themſelves in the Suburb: and from thence they ſet the towne on fire, by heaving in *Hand-granadoes*. Now did *Don Balthazar* ſet himſelfe to relieve *Zittau*: and whileſt hee ſent 2 Regiments to entertaine ſkirmiſh with the *Saxons*: 5 other troopes thruſt themſelves into the towne. After theſe, came *Don Balthazar*

Arnheim beſieging *Zittau*.

himſelfe,

is forced to
rife by Don
Balthazar.

himselfe, with the Imperiall Army : of whose approaching *eArabeim* being aware ; raised with all speede his siege of *Zittau*, and retired himselfe unto *Hoisfwerd* upon the river *Spree*, 2 dayes march to the North of *Zittau*. This was the safest place for him : for that it was towards *Silesia*, which way *Dubalt* was now comming with his Army.

Dubalt comes
into *Silesia*, to
ioyne with
Arabin.

And now came *Dubalt*, indeed, & with him Prince *Vrick* of *Denmarke* : upon whom the Duke of *Saxonie* was to bestow Colonell *Rindhauffs* Regiment; who had beene slaine in the Battell of *Leipsich* : and not that onely, but his third daughter too, as was beleevd. *Dubalt* and *Buckersdorff*, having mustered 9 or 10000 men at *Franckford* upon the *Oder* ; advance upwards along the northern bank of that river, unto *Great Glogau* ; one of the best Cities of *Silesia*. It is a Dukedome : the title whereof had the Emperour lately bestowed upon *Walenstein*, for recovering *Prague* from the Duke of *Saxonie*. In the towne, was a garrison of 6 troopes of Horse, and ten Foot Companies : over whom, was Colonell *Goetz* left Commander: he who sometimes burnt down *Paswalck* in *Pomerania*, as Page 59 of our *First Part* we have told you. *Dubalt* (to be brieve) about the tenth of August, forces both towne and Castle : and compells *Goetz* to retire into the Cathedrall, which had a good Fort for the guard of it, and good Workes round about it : the Fort alone, having some 5 or 6 peeces of Ordnance upon it.

Goetz having done his devotion in this Church, and having against his will beene made a *Church-man* : could have beene contented to have robbed the Church of himselfe, (now its *Patrone*,) and have stolne away over the *Oder*. But there was the *Saxon* Colonell *Kalckstein* enquartered, with his Regiment of Dragoons. *Goetz* thus put to it, was faine to treat upon conditions of rendring: for all which he could obtaine no other but the selfe-same Articles, which his *Generalissimo* had sometimes given to those of *Prague* : which was, to march out only with their swords, without Armes, Drummes, or Colours.

Great

Great Glogaw having thus changed her master, though *Walenstein* would not lay downe his Title: the *Swedish* and *Saxish* Armies, being able together to make up some 14 or 15000 men; thinke themselves strong enough to attempt upon the countrey. They first send to summon *Sagan*, another of *Walensteins* Dukedomes, about 20 *English* miles to the West of *Great Glogaw*: which together with its neighbours *Neustedlen*, *Prunka*, *Sprottaw* and *Freystad*, in that rich countrey, betwixt the *Oder* and the *Bober*; were faine to give entertainment and contribution unto the *Swedish*. From hence, at this time, was Colonell *Kalckstein* with some 1800 Horse and Dragoons, sent towards *Steinaw* upon the Southern bank of the *Oder*, about 18 *English* miles to the North East of great *Glogaw* aforesaid. This is the *Passé* betwixt *Glogaw*, and the citie *Lignitz*: and it hath a Bridge over the river, with a good Fort before it. There lay one Imperiall Cornet and 4 Companies of Dragoons, for the guard of it. This did *Kalckstein* surprize: with some boates in the *Oder* at this Bridge, with good Merchandise in them.

They take
Great Glogaw,

and draw the
neighbour
townes to
contribution.

Steinaw Fort
taken by the
Saxons.

Thence advances he Southwards towards *Lignitz*, which hath a particular Duke of his owne, a *Lutheran*. The place is betweene 2 small rivers, 10 miles from the *Oder*. Hereabouts, some forces making opposition; *Kalckstein* cut off betwixt 20 and 30 of them; and tooke 100 more; which became his soldiers, *Kalckstein* having given advertisement to *Arnheim* and *Dubalt*, of the posture of the towne; and that it depended upon it selfe, without having any Imperiall garrison in it: *Arnheim* presents his Armie before it, & sends to know the Dukes pleasure, whether he pleased to be Imperiall, or would declare himselfe *Swedish*? The Duke seeing an Army at hand, which were likely to call to him for an answer: professes himselfe their friend; and that he and his towne should give free passage and reliefe unto both *Swedish* and *Saxon* Armies. This profession, was the safeguard of the towne, and an advantage to the *Protestant* Ar-

Lignitz both
Duke and
towne, accord-
ed with
Arnheim.

mies : some of which now going into the towne, and enquiring whether therewere any of the enemies goods there or no : found 4000 paire of provant shoes in it; with some other necessaries, provided by Colonell Goetz for his Regiment.

Arnheim advances against the Imperialists,

Arnheim having onely lodged 1000 muskettiers in the towne; sends back the greatest part of his Armie towards *great Glogaw*; himsele with some Cavalery & field peeces, advancing towards *Goldberg*: a *Fleck* some 14 *English* miles to the South of *Lignitz* : whereabouts some Imperialists were now assembled. Having notice upon his march, that they were retyred thence, and gone to *Lemburg* upon the river *Bober*, towards the frontiers of *Lusatia*; and that *Don Balthasar* was there himsele with his whole forces : hee faces it about towards *great Glogaw*, to joyne againe with *Dubalt*, who was busied in fetching contribution out of the country.

retyres from them.

Here at *Lemburg* was the whole Imperiall Army, (which might be some 12000 strong) now rallyed together : there were the Counts of *Mansfelt* and *Schaumburg*, with Sergeant Major Generall *Schaffgotz*, and the chiefe Officers of the Field. They having notice of the D of *Lignitz* being accorded with *Arnheim*, & of the *Saxons* retyring to *Glogaw*: apprehend a present resolution to fall upon *Steinau* Fort againe, so to cut off the Passe to *Lignitz*. This they effect fortunately enough : for that there was as little opposition there made against them, as had at the former taking beene against *Kalckstein*. This done, *Don Balthasar* thinkes to advance towards *Great Glogaw*: hoping to finde the *Swedish* and *Saxon* Armies, not yet comne together, but busied about the Countrey; and so to fall in amongst their Quarters.

Don Balthazar recovers Steinau.

But therein they were deceived ; for they had not advanced one league & a half, but they had the Alarme brought home to them ; how that both *Arnheim* and *Dubalt* were already marcht, and within a league of them. Vpon this newes,

newes, Don *Balthasar* counter-marches to the *Passe* at *Steinaw*: the neerest & the safest strength, which he thereabouts had the command of. Behind this town and in it, they made *Alt*; and there fate they downe with their Army. Vpon Saturday August the seaventeenth, came the *Swedes* and *Saxons* unto *Steinaw*; and tooke up 2 severall Quarters before it. *Dubalts* with his *Swedes* and *Brandenburgers*, had a sandy hill before the enemyes Leaguer, and upon that, getting up 2 Batteryes and 20 peeces of Ordnance: he cruelly with murithering shot &c. thundered both upon the towne, and the Imperiall Leaguer. *Arnheim*, hee charges upon their Horse Quarters at the same time: and *Dubalts* Cavalry falls upon another flank of them: who being now much distracted by the raking of *Dubalts* Ordnance thorow their Battalions; their Horlemen after a charge or two, tooke the rowt upon it, running Eastward towards *Schweinitz*, and *Breslaw*; some 4000 of their Foot, only having thrust themselves into the Fort. In this fight, (as I find 2 severall writings for) were some 2000 Imperialists slaine: there might perchace be half so many; & hardly more, for that they stood not long enough to it. Chace there could be none; for that the Imperialists having first sent away their ordnance and baggage towards *Breslaw*, tooke care enough to burne *Steinaw* bridge behind them.

Where the
Swedes and
Saxons coming
upon them;

first rout
their Army;

Now does the *Protestant* Army lay seige to the Fort, and to them in it: which the next day Aug. nineteenth, they fall to batter upon. Tis written that Don *Balthasar* himself, with the Coits of *Schaumberg* & *Mansfeld*, besides other *Grandees* of the Army; were now within the Fort: but I thinke they had too much wit to coope up themselves in a Counting-house. This ill lucke they had, that the fourth day of the seige, some of their powder tooke fire within the Fort: & the town, besides, fel into a flame by *Dubalts* shooting. Divers, therefore, here miscarried; *Schaffgotzi* was shot in the shoulder with a musket, and the rest sav'd themselves either by getting over the *Oder*, or by boates downe the

X x 2

streame

and then reco-
yer *Steinaw*.

streame of it. Colonell *Goetz* was comming to their reliefe, but meeting the newes of *Alf's* loss, he retyred to *Schweinitz*. Don *Balthasar* and the rest recovered to the walls of *Breslaw*; whereabouts the Army beganne to come to a head againe. And thus upon Friday August the twentie fourth, were the *Passé* and *Skonce* of *Steinaw*, again recovered from the Imperialists.

They take
Neumarcht,

The day before this, was *Kalckstein* sent out with 10 Companies unto *Neumarcht*; a pretty towne betwixt *Steinaw* and *Breslaw*: and 15 *English* miles from this latter. *Kalckstein* sending for the Magistrate, demands entrance: and he desiring respite, *Kalckstein* shewed him 4 peeces of Ordnance. That bunch of keyes opend all the gates, and let in 5 Companies to lie there in garrison. With the other 5, went *Kalckstein* unto *Kant*; 8 *English* miles due South of *Breslaw*: which durst not but seeme freely to admit of 3 other Companies. Thus was *Breslaw* blocked up, both upon the North East and South quarter of it.

and *Kant*.

By Sunday noone August the twenty sixth, had the Imperiall Army gotten up to *Breslaw*; before the *Oder* gate whereof, they were now marshalled. These reported, how shamefully they had beene beaten out of the *Skonce*, with the losse of some hundreds, as also of 6 peeces of Ordnance and *Schaffgoetz's* silver wagon, to the value of a tunne of gold in it. Towards evening, the Army was commanded to the long Bridge; over which they marched, and, upon a faire Triangular peece of ground betwixt the wood, the water, & the morasses; they encamped. A place of mighty advantage; with had but one Avenue to it, by which it might be assaulted. Here they gave out themselves to those of *Breslaw*, to be 14000: but 10000 or 11000 is a faire allowance. The next day came the *Swedish* and *Saxish* Vantguard unto *Lissaw*, a town & Castle within 6 *English* miles of *Breslaw*. Thence advanced they towards *Breslaw*, in pursuit of the Imperialists.

And pursue
the fleeing
Imperialists
unto *Breslaw*.

Being come within halfe an houres march; a Squadron of *Craquets* encountred some of their Van: by whom they were

were presently put to the retreat. Presently after, 300 of them turned back again; by which time 2 troops of *Swedish* were come into the *Sweinitz* meadow called the *Faire bird*, within musket shot of *Breslaw*. Now the *Crabats* called to the citizens on the walls, to assist them by shooting at the *Swedish*; which they refused. Hereupon, 300 *Crabats* fell upon the 150 *Swedish*; whom they put to the retreat. These being reenforced, came on again; but the *Crabats* keeping close to the *Sweinitz* port, the *Swedish* durst come no neerer for feare the towne should have given fire upon them: for which indeed there was order taken. Now looked the *Swedish* how to get between the *Crabats* and their camp; which they discovering, made hast thitherward. They gone, there was a very faire Coach espied by the *Swed*: which offered to come into the Citie: and this they fell upon, and took. There was one Leittenant Colonel *Kurtzsch* in it, & 20000 Dollars. The towne shot at them; at which they shaking their heads, ran away with the Bootie: not so much as offering to returne a bullet againe.

Some skirmishes being made by their vantageurriers,

About 6 at night, the whole *Swedish* and *Saxonian* Army appeared; with their great Artillery onely, and no baggage. Being come within half an houre march of the Imperiall Leaguer, they ranged themselves into *Battaglia*; advancing with their Canon playing before them. Six faire Regiments had order to attack the Imperialists in their Leaguer: which they, with bravery enough, maintayned for an houre and halfe; being then constrained to forsake that most advantageous situation, to set fire upon their quarters; and in hast to retire themselves, baggage, and ordnance, over the long *Oder* bridge: which in 3 places they put fire unto. This had they not done, they had been all undone: and all this (saith mine Author) I my selfe saw with mine owne eyes, from the toppe of *S. Elizabeths* steeple, in *Breslaw*.

the whole Army followes, and beates the Imperialists over the *Oder*.

By 2 a clock on the Tuesday morning August 28, they fell too'ragaine; the *Swedish* putting hard for it, to get over the river: which the other with all violence, forbade them.

X x 3

About

A device of
Baron Donaw's
to make the
Swedish fall
foule with
Breslaw.

*This Baron
being a Prote-
stant first, and
then an Aposta-
te, was sent by
the Emperor
to Breslaw, to
be his Commis-
sary, for the de-
forming (re-
forming I should
have said) of
the Protestant
Churches in Si-
lesia. Being in-
solent in his
office, and be-
come odious;
he would tell
the people he
did that to
save them.

About 10 a clock, Prince *Henry Wentzel* of *Bernstadt*, the Bar-
on *Donaw*, and 2 other privie Counsellors of the town, that
were *Militarie Commissaries* to the Emperor; went up to
the walls : to take view of the skirmish; Baron *Donaw* (in
my hearing (sayes my Author) thus beganne to the other 3,
*I pray let us trie the cast of this peece of ordnance, and let us see
how farre shee will range her bullet :* but the Counsell would
not consent to it. Hee seeing none that contradicted : sent
for an old Gunner, Imperially affected in the towne; and
bids him to traverse the peece upon the *Swedish*, and give
fire to it. This being done (himself having helpt the Gunner)
he laughed heartily : rewarding the fellow with a Ducate
and a thanke; saying *This is the first, in Gods name;* this said,
he goes to his Coach, and so to the Counsell Chamber. The
townsmen understanding of this shot, all in furie runne to
their citie Colonell the Lord of *Sawisch* : complaine to him
of the Baron *Donaw*, and all to raile at him. The Colonell
shutting his doores at them, they made Alarme upon it : in
great multitudes flocking to the Captaines of their severall
Wards first, and then to the *Statehouse*. There called they
for the Baron, *the new Gunner, their * Saviour* : and doe the
Magistrate what he could with perswasions, they would
there stay his out-comming. About one or 2 a clock, comes
a Ritmaster with 3 troopes of Horse from the *Swedish* Ar-
my, to demand the townsmens purpose in that peece of
ordnance : which had killed a Leiftenant Colonels horse
under him, and 3 soldiers. The Magistrate desiring respite
for his answer, till the morning, the Ritmaster fairely re-
tyred : some townsmen first telling him, that it was Baron
Donaw's doing. By this, were the townsmen starck mad,
resolving to have tome the Baron in peeces; had not 2 Lords
privately brought him off in their Coach; & set him privately
downe behinde the *Cathedrall* : whence at midnight hee
was shifted out of the Citie, unto his owne Castle of *Wag-
senberg* : 32 *English* miles to the North East of *Breslaw* :
whence he escaped to *Vienna*. Hence was he sent into *Poland*
where

where he raised some thousands of *Cossacks*, and with them returned into *Silesia*.

By this mans indiscretion, was this fairest City of *Silesia* like to have beene undone; by his offering the first act of hostilitie against the *Swedish*: who were al this day in hot skirmish with the Imperialists. Wednesday morning, they begann againe; the fight continuing till 8 a clock: at which time was shooting given over on both sides. The reason was, for that the Imperialists, at that instant, retyred to a place called *Clarworder*, not farre from the *Oder*: leaving some troopes to maintaine the Bridge, notwithstanding. Towards evening, the Imperialists sent divers of their best baggage-wagons, with 4 great peeces of Ordnance, (each drawne by 20 or 24 Horses) and a goodly *Mortar*, to be taken into *Breslaw*: for feare (as the messengers said) least the Imperiall Army in their retreat, should be forced to leave them to their enemies. The gunnes were taken in; for that the citie could answere for them: they having lent more peeces then those, unto the Emperor. As for the Baggage, they would not meddle with it: for feare the sheltering of enemies goods, should occasion a quarrell with the *Swedes* and *Saxons*: who had yet done no injury to the townsmen.

The Imperialists retyre a little.

That night was there command given thorow the Citie, that every Burger upon pain of losing his *Freedome*; should meet the next morning at the Statehouse. There and then, were these 5 demands made, from *Don Balthasar* and the Imperiall Army.

1. Whether the Citie would stand firme to the Emperor?
2. And serve his Armie with victualls and Ammunition?
3. In case the Army should not be able to maintaine it, (as they feared) against their enemies: whether they might have the favour to retreat into the Citie?
4. Whether they would grant passage to the Army, thorow the towne?
5. And if their Armie were put to the retreat, whether the

the Citie would favour them with their Ordnance from the walls, and so afford them their best assistance?

The Cities answere was.

1. For the Emperor, they were resolved, as they were obliged, to live and die.

2. Viſtualls and Ammunition for the Armie, they could not spare them: because that little they had there was need enough of, in so populous a Citie. And yet if they could be assured; how their towne should be maintained against the *Swedes & Saxons*; they would afford whatever they found their Magazines able to spare them.

3. As for the retreat of the Armie into their Citie; that might they by no means afford them.

4. As for leave of marching thorow their Citie; that could they not imagine how it might be convenient either for the towne or Armie: for that seeing they must likewise afford the same favour to the *Swedish*; they should thereby bring their citie into a most eminent danger.

5. As for favouring them with their Ordnance from the walls, until they should have made their retreat far enough; that were farre lesse expedient for them. And therefore they would intreate the Army to consider, how much inconvenience must needs be drawne upon the City by it. For whereas the *Swedish* had hitherto offered no hostility; either unto the City or any belonging to it; they had no reason to provoke them first of all: which if they should doe, they should never be able to give an account for it to posteritie. This courtesie they hoped for from the Imperiall Army; that if the *Swedish* should offer to assault their Citie, they would then be ready to relieve it. The towne having thus handſomly declined, rather then denied these demands: the Imperiall Officers all abashed at it, repaired to their leaguer.

About noone the same Thursday, came there a letter unto the Magistrates, from the Generall *Dubalt*: full of good language and profession. Therein was the sincerity of his Majesty

Majestie of *Swedens* purposes expressed, full of desire, to relieve all the oppressed; concluding all, with a desire of victuall, for thanks and money. Victualls were denyed: for all which, those of the Suburbs came into the towne to buy; which they plentifully went and sold unto the *Swedish*. Now come the soldiers to *S. Nicholas* gate: and close under that, they bring their wagons to be sheltred. The most part of the Imperiall Armie in the meane time, forsooke their owne leaguer, and retyred into that Suburb on the other side of *Breslaw* called *Elbing*: the *Swedish* in the meane time continuing their assault upon those left at the *Oder*, & striving to force their passage over it. Friday the last of August, betimes in the morning, the rest of the Imperiall Army brake up, and came before the *Oder* gate; and so retyred into the said Suburb. Here staid they not full 2 houres: but in great hast retyred themselves, some North Eastward to *Namstan*; others North Westward to *Auris*: whence, twas thought, they would have gone out of the countrey. About noone the same day, came the *Swedish* rushing into the said Suburb of *Elbing*, having by boates gotten over the *Oder*. Here made they havock of whatsoever the Imperialists had left behinde them, but doing no wrong unto any of the *Breslawers*. Just then was newes brought, that other *Swedish* had slaine 200 Imperialists, taken Colonell *Rostall* prisoner, with 300 horsemen more, at *Olaw* bridge; (16 *English* miles to the South East of *Breslaw*) which were there set to maintaine the Passe over the river *Olaw*, which falleth into the *Oder* at *Breslaw*.

Dubalt writes
to the City.

The Imperialists
list sic.

Saturday morning September the first, the Citizens of *Breslaw* were to meet in the Statehouse: and there to declare themselves, whether they would admit the *Swedish* and *Saxon* Armies into their towne: make an accord with them: or otherwise runne the hazzard of hostilitie. And thus farre my *Breslaw* Author, hath beene my Intelligencer.

Those that had taken *Rostall* at *Olaw* bridge aforesaid; were of *Arnheims* Armie: who whilest *Dubalt* was thus

Y y

employed

Arnbims A. G.
ons.

He gets the
pass at Olaw.

followers,

and over-
throws Schaff-
gotzi:

employed about *Breslaw*; was with the most of his owne *Saxon* forces, otherwhere taken up in the Countrey. And hee having understood that the Imperialists had another Bridge over the *Oder*, right against *Olaw* aforesaid: thitherward goes he about August the twentic sixth, to force that; and that way to come at the Imperialists. His having done this; forced the Imperialists so soone to quit their *Breslaw* leaguer, as hath beene before said. *Arnheim* hearing this bridge to be maintained by Colonell *Rotstall* and 400 muskettiers; sends Leiftenant Colonell *Dahn* with 600 Horse & 500 muskettiers, to it. Now whiles *Rotstall* stayes too long to burn downe the Bridge; there was he taken, and his men defeated. August the 29, comes *Arnheim* to repaire the bridge; and Colonell *Eckstadt* with 15 troopes of Horse, 300 muskettiers, and 2 peeces of Ordnance, is sent to hinder him. To stave off him, is Leiftenant Colonell *Schidner* sent, with some of *Kalcksteins* Dragooners: by whom is *Eckstadt* forced to retreate into a wood, a little from the *Oder*. August 31 comes Sergeant-Major-Generall *Schaffgotzi* to helpe *Eckstadt* hiding himselfe in the said wood, to be ready to cut the *Saxons* in peeces, so soone as ever they should have passed over. That night *Arnheim* having finished his bridge, was ready to have put over his forces: but hearing (in time) of *Schaffgotzi's* comming, forbears it. All that day & night, had the *Saxon* Ordnance so thunderd into the wood; that so soone as ever *Schaffgotzi* heard *Arnheims* bridge finished (whom he suspected to have beene strong enough to have adventured over) he with all hast tooke the rout at it, leaving 2 peeces behind him. August 2 at night, *Arnheim* passes the bridge; sending *Dahn* and *Enbussen* with 450. Horse to fetch up and entertain the Imperialists; whilst himselfe should be comne up to second him. There were 1200 Imperialists said to be slaine, the rest put to flight, and *Eckstadt* with many officers taken. This was in the way betwixt the *Oder* and *Namstau* towne, 13 miles from the *Oder*. Hence did *Schaffgotzi* retire to *Kolischen*.

chen: and his men to their fellowes about *Opelen*. *Arnheim* had now his way open unto *Brieg*; the Duke whereof is a Calvinist, and elder brother unto the Duke of *Lignitz*. To him, does *Arnheim* propound the example of his brother: which, after a while, the Duke followes. His towne is upon the Southerne banck of the *Oder* 24 English miles to the South East of *Breslaw*: and his conditions were, to take an oath to the King of *Sweden*, and to the 2 Electors of *Saxe* and *Brandenburg*. *Arnheim* pursuing his fortune; brings the countrey as he goes, under contribution: fetches in the 2 fayre townes of *Grotka* and *Monsterberg*, South of *Brieg*: and September 18. takes *Niesse* 24 miles to the South of the *Oder*. Thence goes he over the *Oder* at *Brieg*; and comes upon that part of the Imperiall Armie, then assembled at *Opelen* upon the North of the *Oder*. From thence he ferrets them, to the other side of the river againe; even to the townes of *Troppa* and *Legerisdorff*, upon the frontiers of *Moravia*. Hither, in October, was he to have marched; a panicke feare now every where possessing the Imperialists: but at this instant did *Walstein* make such foule work in *Misnia*, that the Elector was faine to send for his *Arnheim* home againe. And there he staid with his Master, till after the Battell of *Lutzen*.

Accords with
the Duke of
Brieg:

Drives the
Imperialists
over the *Oder*
back againe;

and is recalled
into *Mis-*
nia.

Dubalt is all this time in treatie with *Breslaw*: a towne worthy to be waited upon. In the meane time, his people lose no oportunitie, in taking the townes about the Countrey. Towards the end of September, a Ritmaster of his, with 8 Horsemen onely in his Company, gets by a wile into the Baron of *Donaw*'s very strong Castle of *Warthenburg*: who being in, found meanes and oportunitie to let in their fellowes. October the third, did *Breslaw* accord with *Dubalt*: yeelding to maintaine those 600 Foot, and 1000 Horsemen which he already had about the Cathedral. This Church, is (it seemes) in the Suburbs: and there had *Dubalts* men beene enquartered, all the last moneth; having fortified it and themselves round about it. *Dubalt* would gladly have put 2 Companies into the towne; but of that,

Dubalts men
surprise *War-*
thenburg:

Y y 2

the

and he brings
Breslaw to ac-
cord with him

Putting his
Army after
that, into their
Winter Quar-
ters.

the Citizens excused themselves; as having entertained no strange garrison, these 300 yeares. The getting of this faire towne, was a great worke; and done handsomely. And now did *Dubalt* dispose his people into their winter-quarters, in the villages round about it: so that what was done after this, were but slighter rencounters, and by Commanded Partees. And thus have the *Saxons* with helpe of the *Swedes* and *Brandenburgers*; made the reckoning in *Silesia*, to pay the last yeares shot in *Bohemia*. And to leave I the warres in those parts, in a most prosperous condition for the *Saxe* and *Swedish*. God send peace every where: which were wee at home enough sensible of the blessing of; we would in thankfulness acknowledge it, to be more glorious then *Victorie*: and the most happy subject in the world, for a noble *History*.

And to this place for a conclusion, have I reserved the Character of his Majestie the King of *Bohemia*; and that because I have mentioned his death page 75. of this *Fourth Part*, which was November the 19. and for that I was ambitious to finish this *Part*, as I did the former, and to crowne it with a King.



THE CHARACTER of the King of BOHEMIA.

HEst our latter ages should want examples, what God can doe to great men, or how hee sometimes exercises good men; was this Prince set up: even Hee, the greatest of the best Religion, of all *Germany*.

The life of this good Prince, was a strangely counter-

counterchanged mixture of fortunes; a Tablet, of divers countenances. His entry into the *Electorate*, was glorious; his beginnings, happy; his virtues, respectfull; and such as deservedly attracted all the eyes & courtship of *Germany*, upon him. The great allyances which he had contracted, his high parentage; his mighty Supportments, both within *Germany*, and without it; the considerable eminency of his *House*, his Estate, and the body of confederates, principally depending upon his directions; together with the hopefullnesse, that other Princes and Peoples mo, had of him: these were the faire eminencies that differenced him from other Princes; and these were the procurers of his election to the Crowne of *Bohemia*. An election, indeed, banefull, (for the time) to his person and *House*; yea and to the whole repose of *Germany*: all which, ever since that time, hath felt the dire effects of the lately preceding *Comet*: as having beene deeply imbroyld in an universall warre; which hath over-run, not the better part alone, but all the 4. corners of it. A warre, that hath for these 14. long yeares, continued with such stomackfulnesse on both sides; and beene infamed with the ravages & overturnings of so great a part of the Estates and Provinces of the Empire; as are like to carry the markes and scarres of it, yet for a many ages.

And notwithstanding that this Prince, both by himselfe and the potentest of his Friends; hath left no honorable meanes unattempted, for the quenching of this Skarre-fire: yet hath he found such obstinate and fatal oppositions, from time to time; such rigide stiffenesses, in the contrary party; yea such a

counter-bandings from day to day; and those encreased too, upon the fortunatenesse of their good successes: that all the mediations of the greatest Kings, have been rejected; and the Prince himselfe *bandited* for these many yeares, yea and dispoiled of his possessions. And yet againe, when he saw himself just ready, to take *Seisin* once more of his own countrey, and to bid farewel to his afflictions: even then, just then, found he his hower-glasse runne out, and his period concluded upon.

The calamity of this Prince, hath beene taken up for a *Theme* by a many licentious tongues, and unlicensed pennes; to declaime against him: they grounding themselves upon the successe and bad condition of his affayres, to make judgement of his managing the: taking leave most outrageously to detract from him, with an unmanerly and ful-mouthd liberty. Those that neereliest before knew him; confesse him, indeed, to have beene unfortunate: but could not devise, which way he came to deserve it: yea they beleewe withall, that there is not a spirit to be found, how well mounted and fortified soever it be; that could have borne the Crosse with a better tempered moderation, then he had done his sufferings: & doe admire that patience of his, which was indeed most eminently remarkable in him. Most true it is, that a many excellent vertues of this Prince, have not onely beene over-clouded, but have also beene oppressed, by the unlucky weightinesse of his infelicities: and yet have so many others broke forth, and beamed out from him; as might have beene sufficient to have dazeled the owle-eyes of Envy, and bungd up the mouths of that malignitic and mis-speaking;
with

with which he hath continually beene tongue-smitten and persecuted. His *House*, his *Extraction*, his *Kinred*, his *Alliances*; together with his *personall good qualities*, even these ought of duty to command forbearance, in those *Satyricall* and mercenary spirits; who are still provided of Common places, both for *Panegyricks* and *Invectives*: which they make serve their turnes according to the times; to make shew of their owne queint wits, even with disparaging of great Princes: whose highnesse of Birth alone, should be enough to make such people know their distances. There is an honour due to Princes, of what side soever they be: yea and an *Apologie* for this very Gentleman: who though too too grossely undervalued he were, in these his misfortunes; yet was ever well respected by those that best knew him, even in the lowest declination of his disgraces. Highly honored he was by a most ample testimony of that solide judgemented Prince, the K. of *Sweden*, and that upon the offer & variety of occasions: who was sometimes enforced to moderate that thirst and pursuite of military honour in him; and other-while professed himselfe to bee so inveigled (as it were) by the sweetnesse of his Conversation, as to engage his promise to him (many a time) to r'impatriate and re-estate him againe in his place of honour; with a request to him to manage his life so, as might be best for the improvement of the publick, & the comfort of his friends, and those about him.

The Subjects of this good Prince, may have plentifull matter of consolation, from that most heroi-call, and masculine spirited Princessse, his *Queene*, and from that sweet and numerous Issue, which he hath

hath left behinde him : which promises them an entire affranchisement, one day againe ; and the reser-
 ling of a *Family* so many wayes considerable, as is
 one of the first and ancientliest descended, of all *Eu-
 rope*. A Queene, who for her beautie, and vertues;
 demerits to be made no lesse, then what shee was
borne, or *Crowned*: and who for the unexampled bea-
 ring of these varied afflictions, deserves to be made
 more, then there are yet *Titles* for. An Issue so faire;
 and for their numbers, such a blessing : as were not
 onely prepared by God, for a present Comfort to
 their widowed Mother: but, (which their owne ex-
 cellent towardlinesse, gives pregnant hopes of) for
 the raising of their owne faire *Family* againe ; and
 engrafting the *Palatine* branches, into most of the
 great *Houses* of the Empire, and of *Europe*.

The Reader (I hope) will not take it amisse from
 me, that I have done that right, unto so great a
 Prince ; which in all duty and conscience I felt my
 selfe obliged to. A Prince, who hath these many
 yeares beene the Butt of misfortunes, and of the in-
 solencies and insultations, which, of course, follow
 upon them. And this have I done, so much the more
 confidently ; for that this Prince hath had the ho-
 nour of alliance, not onely with other great Kings;
 but also with mine own gracious Soveraigne. Tru-
 ly all persons of honour, ought of right to esteeme
 themselves interess'd, in the chary conservation of
 the honours of their equalls : and however other-
 wise diversly affected, yet should they all joyne to
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